FD - 245 (REV. 4-13-60)

U. S. Department of Justice

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FEDERAL BUREAU

DO NOT DESTROY -
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COMMITTEE ON ASSASSINATIONS

INVESTIGATION

Bureau File Number

DO NOT DESTROY - 67, 377, 212, (see 190-63)
PENDING LITIGATION 237
123, 245, 234, 243, 342 235
See also Nos. 34, 168, 319, 277A, 277B

Volume Number

Serials

SHAW-WALKER 16-28615

NW 45552
DocId:34423788 Page 1

FD-340a (Rev. 6-12-63)

(Title) THE RESISTANCE

(File No.) 100 -70116*

1. Four photographs taken of group discussion at Calif. St. Poly College on 10-12-67 (11-1-67) hg

2. Three pamphlets published by The Resistance (11-1-67) hg

3. Leaflet titled "Oct. 16 The Resistance" (11-7-67 SJ)

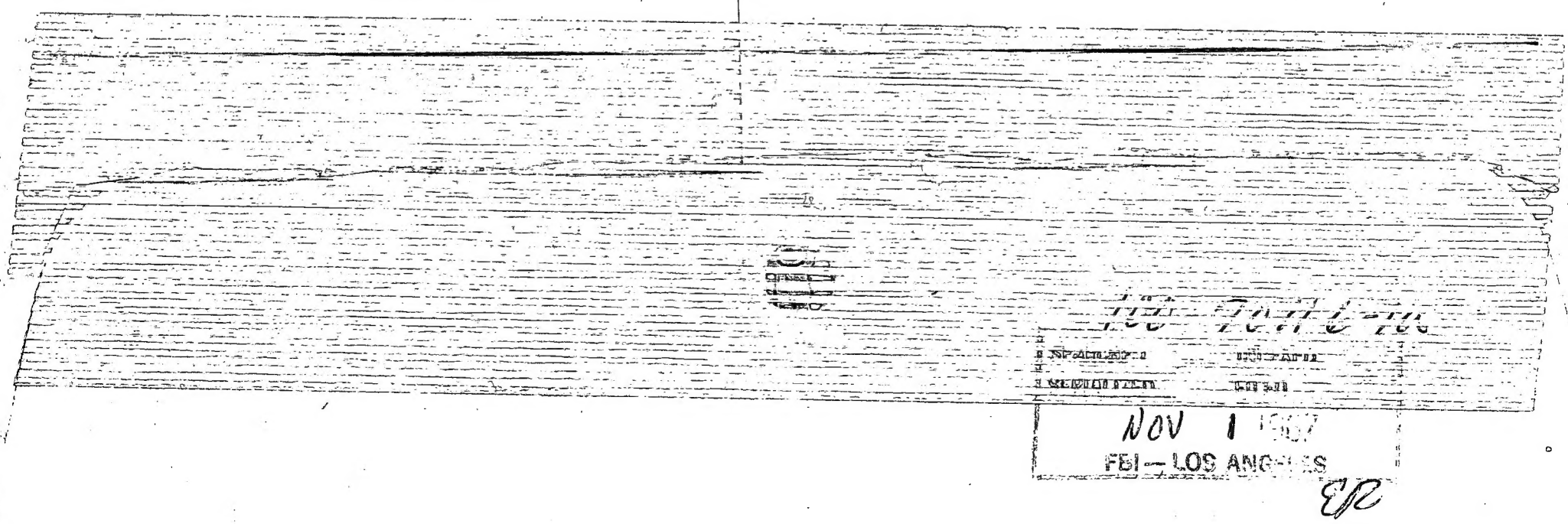
4. Blue sheet of paper titled "Oct. 16 - The resistance national Statement. (11-16-67 kcw)

5 | envelope addressed to mrs m. Mathew Box 38457, los Angeles, Calif. See Ser. 35 (11.30.67 JC)

6. 3 pages of names as signed of "a call To Resist. See Ser. 36 (11.30.67 JC)

7. Telegram addressed to "The Resistance" from London American Stop Vt Committee # 8739 (11-16-67)

Disposition:



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DocId:34423788 Page 2

FD-340 (REV. 6-24-65)

100-70116-121

File No. [redacted]

Date Received 10/20/67

From George Cockriel
(NAME OF CONTRIBUTOR)

Calif St. Polytechnic College
(ADDRESS OF CONTRIBUTOR)

San Luis Obispo Calif
(CITY AND STATE)

By SA Leo C Bailey
(NAME OF SPECIAL AGENT)

To Be Returned ☐ Yes ☒ No

Receipt given ☐ Yes ☒ No

Description: 4 photographs taken of group discussion at Calif St Poly College on 10/12/67.

3 8x10's sent to San Francisco 10/23/67.

(10-1-67) hg

NW 45552
DocId:34423788 Page 3

NW 45552
DocId:34423788 Page 4

FD-340 (REV. 6-24-65)

File No. 100- ~~70405~~ 70116 143

Date Received 10/5/67

From Capt. Boyd Lynn
(NAME OF CONTRIBUTOR)

PD - UCLA
(ADDRESS OF CONTRIBUTOR)

(CITY AND STATE)

By mail
(NAME OF SPECIAL AGENT)

To Be Returned ☐ Yes ☑ No

Receipt given ☐ Yes ☑ No

Description:

Leaflet titled "OCT. 16!
The Resistance".

11/17/67 DS

OCT. 16!

THE RESISTANCE

#1

BROTHERS----
Have you looked at your draft card lately? What is that number on it? Is it YOU? Is it the number of Americans and VC killed last week? Or is it the chemical formula for napalm?

Today Vietnamese men, women, and children will die. They will die at the end of an American soldier's bayonet, they will burn to death from the napalm dropped from American planes. These executions are performed daily by ordinary American guys, most of whom are NOT in Vietnam by choice. They were drafted. Our government ordered them there.

It is time every American takes responsibiltiy as an individual for the implications of his way of life to his fellow men. When black men die in their homes, when Vietnamese die in their homes at the hands of the United States military, you and I are responsible. These things are done in your name; the victims understand this well.

If you wish to see this ludicrous and tragic destruction end, you must refuse unconditionally to co-operate with the United States military. You must refuse to justify their authority with your acquiescence. You must refuse to accept their gratuitous categories of "deferred student," "psychologically unfit," "conscientious objector," etc. How easily we have been intimidated...how sheepishly we surrender our freedom...how grateful we are for deferments from the draft..."thank you, master" echoes from our lips. What is at stake ultimately is your existence as well as that of your brother. Unless you act now, you shall become your own executioner. THERE IS ANOTHER POSSIBILITY.

ON OCTOBER 16, 1967, WE WILL PUBLICLY AND COLLECTIVELY RETURN OUR DRAFT CARDS TO THE SELECTIVE SERVICE SYSTEM. FROM THAT MOMENT ON, WE WILL NOT COOPERATE WITH THAT SYSTEM UNDER ANY CIRCUMSTANCES, REGARDLESS OF ANY THREAT BY THE GOVERNMENT.

This action will take place in major cities across the country where members of the Resistance live and work. It is the first in a series of confrontations with the forces of human destruction and degradation that rule this country. After the 16th, we will go back to our communities and organize a second action, planned for December, and after that subsequent waves of non-cooperation will occur. If we are serious about creating a decent world and freeing ourselves from the terror of the old one, we must find the strength to face up to our own fears. The system is not ommipotent...it is made up of men.

What have we been afraid of? Prison? Losing a promising career? Being called a communist? Or is it just facing up to the truth about ourselves?

We've all been put in a hot room with carrot deferments dangling in each doorway...possible death awaits at the end of each corridor. We can let them play this game with our lives; I might escape through the side exit 1-O or 3-A. You, my brothers and friends, may die. In any case, our minds and lives will be twisted under someone else's dictation. But then, we don't have to play the game. We can break down the walls and walk out together. We can direct our own lives... they are ours.

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UPON OUR EXAMPLE, EVERY YOUNG MAN IN AMERICA WILL REALIZE THAT HE MUST DECIDE TO RESIST OR AQUIESCE TO THE DRAFT AND THE WAR. MANY WILL RESIST.

Individual heroics are of little real value in this new struggle. Only our massed strength can win out against the forces of the American system. Only through our total commitment to each other-- a commitment of life and means-- can we build to replace the evil system we must destroy. Life can mean very little if it can only be enjoyed while others are being made to suffer in our name.

Noon-cooperation is the only courageous act, the only voice which is not silent. It is the greatest weapon against the American military. Even total physical destruction of the military machine would mean nothing if the people could be induced to rebuild it.

In our struggle, the act alone has meaning. The consequences to each of us as individuals has no relevance to our movement. Some of us will go to jail. But in the months we remain out, we will organize others, many, many others, to take our places. Our trials will be our platform from which we will speak to our people. Others of us will refuse to submit to imprisonment. Fear of consequences is the weapon the system will try to use to break us. Our weapon is the act, and total concentration on the act is our strength.

Take control of of <u>your</u> life...let the Vietnamese take control of <u>their</u> lives.

DO IT BROTHERS! JOIN US NOW!

The new federal building - October 16 - 12 noon

- -

PLEASE DETACH AND RETURN TO: The Resistance
Greg Robb
1093 Broxton Rm.238 Ph.473-6410/879-9440
Los Angeles, Calif. 90024

NAME_____ PHONE_____

ADDRESS_____

I will turn in my draft card on October 16th YES____ NO____
I wish to support the Resistance YES____ NO____
I am seriously considering joining the Resistance action, and wish to keep in contact for information, meetings. etc.____

S E N D U S Y O U R D R A F T C A R D N O W !
We'll send it to your draft board
I will unconditionally send in my draft card____

I will send in my draft card on the condition that it will not be sent to my draft board unless 500 of my brothers in L.A. send in their cards.____

If you know of a group which wishes to know more of the Resistance, we will send a speaker to discuss it with them. I got a letter today from Cambridge; there, 3000 guys are going to DO IT!

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FD-340 (REV. 6-24-65)

File No. 100-70116-1a4

Date Received 10/16/67

From Sally Jean Silvestri
(NAME OF CONTRIBUTOR)

Rm. 3255, New Federal Bldg.
(ADDRESS OF CONTRIBUTOR)

Los Angeles, California
(CITY AND STATE)

By Gilbert G. Benjamin & George J. Moorehead
(NAME OF SPECIAL AGENT)

To Be Returned ☐ Yes ☒ No

Receipt given ☐ Yes ☒ No

Description:

1. Blue Sheet of paper titled, "October 16 -- The Resistance National Statement -

inserted in report 2/26/68. mmm

(11-16-67 kow)

NW 45552
DocId:34423788 Page 8

FD-340 (REV. 6-24-65)

100-70116-102

File No. ~~250~~

Date Received 10/20/67

From George Cockriel
(NAME OF CONTRIBUTOR)

Calif St Polytechnic College
(ADDRESS OF CONTRIBUTOR)

San Luis Obispo Calif.
(CITY AND STATE)

By SA Lee C. Bailey
(NAME OF SPECIAL AGENT)

To Be Returned ☐ Yes ☑ No

Receipt given ☐ Yes ☐ No

Description: three ~~the~~ pamphlets published by The Resistance

(11-1-67) hg

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DocId:34423788 Page 9

The Resistance

now

On October 16th, 1967, members of The Resistance will gather in San Francisco to publically and collectively return their draft cards to the Federal Government at the Federal Building, 450 Golden Gate Ave. S. F. The young men who will be taking this action will put their draft cards in a box and present them to the Federal Attorney along with statements of non-cooperation from each person returning his card. Similar actions are to simultaneously take place in Los Angeles, Portland (Oregon), Denver, Kansas City, St. Louis, Chicago, Des Moines, Cedar Rapids (Iowa), St. Paul (Minnesota), Boston, New York, Washington D. C., Philadelphia, AnnArbor (Michigan) Yellow Springs (Ohio), Champaign-Urbana (Illinois), Bloomington (Indiana), Puerto Rico, as well as in other towns across the country, and abroad in London, England.

10:00 A.M.

At Howard Presbyterian Church, Oak and Baker Streets, San Francisco, The Resistance will hold a press conference. Representatives of the main constituances taking part (Berkeley Resistance, San Francisco Resistance, San Jose Resistance, and the Christian Resistance) will begin the conference with some brief introductory statements about The Resistance, how it was organized, what it means. Anyone who is to give back their draft card, or has already sent it back, is welcome to attend, and after the introduction by representatives, we hope to, in an informal way, open the press up to as many individuals participating as possible.

1:00 P.M.

At the Federal Building in San Francisco (450 Golden Gate), the thing will happen. Members of The Resistance from all over the Bay Area will go through a ceremonious return of their registration with Selective Service to the Government. Cards, or reasonable facsimiles of allegiance to military conscription will be collected and taken to the office of the Federal Attorney and left. After the cards are given to the government, there will be a short rally.

At the Federal Building, we hope not only to have members of The Resistance, but the communities they represent. All those who support The Resistance should come to the Federal Building, and make their support visible. We hope to have 200 non-cooperators and 2000 supporters massed in front of the building.

The Resistance invites you to attend this unprecedented action, and welcomes your support in our initiative. We urge young men to join us, and other men around the nation who, with their lives, intend to build a genuine democratic community. Join us, for the realities of American life now demand that we move from dissent to resistance.

For information :

Resistance
The Hearth
Oak and Baker
San Francisco
626-0341

¶ Resistance
2171 Shattuck, Rm 212
Berkeley (849-4950)

¶ Resistance
581 S 12th St.
San Jose, Calif.
287-1274

¶ Resistance
Peace & Liberation Commune
2269 Cooley Ave.
East Palo Alto, California
323-0529

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WE REFUSE OCTOBER 16 & DECEMBER 4

the resistance newsletter

OUR THIRD ONE OCTOBER 1967 A.D. PALO ALTO, CALIFORNIA

Early in September I attended a conference in Bratislava, Czechoslovakia, as one of a 40-member American delegation meeting with delegations of the Democratic Republic of of Vietnam and of the National Front for Liberation of South Vietnam. This conference grew out of some visits Americans have made to Hanoi in the last year. These Americans felt their work in this country benefited from the perspective and inspiration gained by meeting the Vietnamese, and that this was an experience which more activists in the radical and peace movements of America should share.

If my experience in Bratislava is any reflection of what the American delegation learned, then the prediction of the conference organizers of the importance of the meeting was true. The liberated zones in America are small and scattered. They are inhabited by persons who are exhausted from our apparently futile skirmishes with the authorities, or are fatigued by wrenching themselves from the tentacles of a very sick society. People talk of an underground, leaving the country, heading for the hills; take flight to Leninism, Maoism, and liberalism. Almost no one takes concrete steps of resisting or of building a movement which could change America.

At lunch one day in Bratislava I described this landscape to two Vietnamese from the North. They were concerned that I be able to see beyond the despair which fences us in, and they were appreciative that I would be honest enough to talk about our problems as well as the signs of life in America. Le Tan, a journalist, thought for a moment before replying, then said, "You know that forty years ago in my country our situation was very similar. Many Vietnamese students and intellectuals committed suicide and there were few people who had any hope at all. But small resistances to the French occurred, and these gradually gave a few more people hope. Many people in the early days were imprisoned or killed, but the numbers of people and determination to resist grew as more examples of strength could be seen. This was the beginning of the movement you now see, resisting still, only now the Americans in the South. Without the courage and will of those who began resisting forty years ago, our movement may never have been started."

Most of the eight days of conference were spent in formal sessions beginning with a report by the American delegation on the political outlook of the country and the position of the peace movement within it. On the second day of these sessions I gave a report on the Resistance. The report was received enthusiastically by the Vietnamese, and in fact during a boat ride on the Danube a few days later, one of the NFL delegates pinned the emblem of the South Vietnemese Liberation Army on my jacket as a gesture of support for the Resistance. Pham Thant Van, a schoolteacher who lives outside Saigon, offered to arrange for the South Vietnamese Liberation Student Union to send us a message of solidarity on October 16.

The National Front for Liberation's report followed the Americans'. Just three days prior to the Bratislava meeting, the NFL had released its new political program in South Vietnam. Madame Nguyen Thi Binh, a member of the Central Committee of the Front, spoke for the South Vietnamese delegation during its formal presentation, and explained the background of the program and interpreted it in terms of the future of the Front in South Vietnam. The main point she and all the Vietnamese made to us was that the Front feels a new confidence in its political and military position in South Vietnam. They go so far as to say that they had accomplished a military victory there, and that politically they are currently governing (administering schools, health facilities, land redistribution, and leading the people in fighting) at least 80% of the land area and two-thirds of the population of South Vietnam. Many of the contested areas are virtually under their control as ARVN troops can come by day but must leave by nightfall. The NFL has now such wide support from the working class in Saigon that the Saigon police and army do not enter three or four districts of the city.

The Front's claim to military victory arises from their conviction that the United States cannot win in South Vietnam, as well as from their own victories and mass support. Taken together, the arguments for their inevitable victory are convincing. They say first that the United States is not fighting a professional army byt rather an entire population. That the spirit of the South Vietnamese people resisting the might of American technology is superior to our force is exemplified in the reaction of villagers to American planes spraying trees with toxic chemicals. After the planes pass over peasants organize themselves to go out and remove all the leaves from sprayed trees before the poison can enter the sap and permanently destroy the trees."

The war is causing suffering for all Vietnamese, not just peasants and workers. Cities in South Vietnam have become uninhabitable with the influx of American troops who cause heavy inflation, cripple local business, and lower food stocks.

The ground offensives led by American troops have been failures, according to the NFL. They cite the sagging morale of US ground forces in a country thousands of miles from their homes, fighting on unfamiliar terrain and without the support of the civilian population. By forcing American troops into fighting in the style of their adversaries, they claim to have put the ground forces into a position of passivity and defense of American bases. 19% of US troops fall ill by the third or fourth day of any campaign. Morale is worse among ARVN troops and desertion is common, in one case an entire armored regiment went over the hill. The Liberation Army still gets the greater part of its equipment from US troops. The war on the ground will decide the victor in this war, and the NFL says it has defeated the American forces on the ground.

The release of the new program in the South was timed to precede the "elections" held in September. The program has basically the same social and economic policy as the previous statement issued in 1960, but differs in its confidence that the NFL is the only group in South Vietnam with the ability to put through reforms and solutions to the problems of that country. "Precisely because it represents the legitimate and most fundamental aspirations of the South Vietnamese people and is the master of the situation in South Vietnam," Madame Binh explained," the NFL both de jure and de facto, is the sole authentic representative of the South Vietnamese people and therefore, must have its decisive say in the settlement of the South Vietnamese problem."

The best expression of the spirit of Madame Binh's personality and the movement she represents is in her only half-humerous aside that "the US has said that for cessation of bombing of North Vietnam the South Vietnamese should lay down their arms, while the only reasonable reciprocation of a bombing cessation is that the South Vietnamese would cease shooting down American planes."

The confidence the NFL feels about its position is most evident in the sections of the new program that reach out to groups and individuals who have not yet joined the resistance to American aggression. Much of the future work of the Front is going to be concentrated on bringing the remaining groups into resistance. The program states "The South Vietnam National Liberation Front is prepared to invite and welcome all patriotic forces and individuals who oppose the US aggressors to join its ranks, and to shoulder together the commonduties. It proposes that any force which, for one reason or another does not adhere to its ranks, take joint action against the common enemy--the US agressors and their lackeys."

Point 12 of the new program states: "To welcome puppet officers and men and puppet officials back to the just cause, show leniency and give a humane treatment to rallied armymen and prisoners of war." More specifically it offers: "Those individuals, groups or units of the puppet army and administration who render services to the cause of fighting against US aggression for national salvation will be rewarded and entrusted with responsible jobs."

The delegation from the DRV made the last formal report. The North Vietnamese explained how their country has survived the rain of bombs which America has been delivering for over two years now. They argue that bombing can never destroy their economy because it is primarily agricultural What industry remains, has been scattered and major cities have been evacuated. Schools have also been scattered in the countryside, and have more students now than when bombing began. They claim that bombing cannot destroy their communication and transportation lines (the main vehicle of transportation in North Vietnam is the bicycle), and that they got all their equipment to Dienbienphu without transportation lines anyway. They fully expect to have Hanoi and Haiphong destroyed, but plan to rebuild them. This determination is all the more inspiring when you realize that the North Vietnamese had just accomplished a national program of reconstruction and industrialization when America began its bombing. Almost all that was built between August, 1945, the date of their revolution, and February, 1965, has been destroyed; with the exception of the North Vietnamese people and their plans to build it all over again.

Small discussions on specific questions of mutual interest followed these delegation reports. I attended several of the meetings on students and their work in the movements of our respective countries. South Vietnamese students cooperate and work with the Front. Their most important contribution is the draft resistance movement which connects with the overall resistance to the US aggression. The draft is essential to the Saigon government, because ARVNis financed by the US according to the number of inductees it can get. The students ' reaction to being drafted is most often to fight and organize others to join them in physical resistance to the authorities when they arrive to induct them (often in helicopters).

There are usually three alternatives for a student who has resisted the draft: to escape into a liberated zone, go underground, or be imprisoned. Many young men are in jail today in South Vietnam for refusing to be drafted. Students, when not fighting off the draft, organize teach-ins, demonstrations, protests of the Saigon government's control of their universities, and send supplies to the Liberation Army.

(con't)

Gentlemen, who are called great, I am writing you a letter that you will perhaps read if you have time.
I have just received my draft notice to report for duty before Wednesday evening.
Gentlemen who are called great, I don't want to do it.
I am not here on earth to kill poor people.

It is not to anger you that I must tell you that wars are stupidities, the world has enough of them.
Since I was born, I have seen fathers die, I have seen mothers suffer and children cry.
Mothers have suffered so much, and others amuse themselves and live at ease despite the mud, the blood.
There are prisoners -- they have stolen their souls, they have stolen their women and all their beloved pasts.

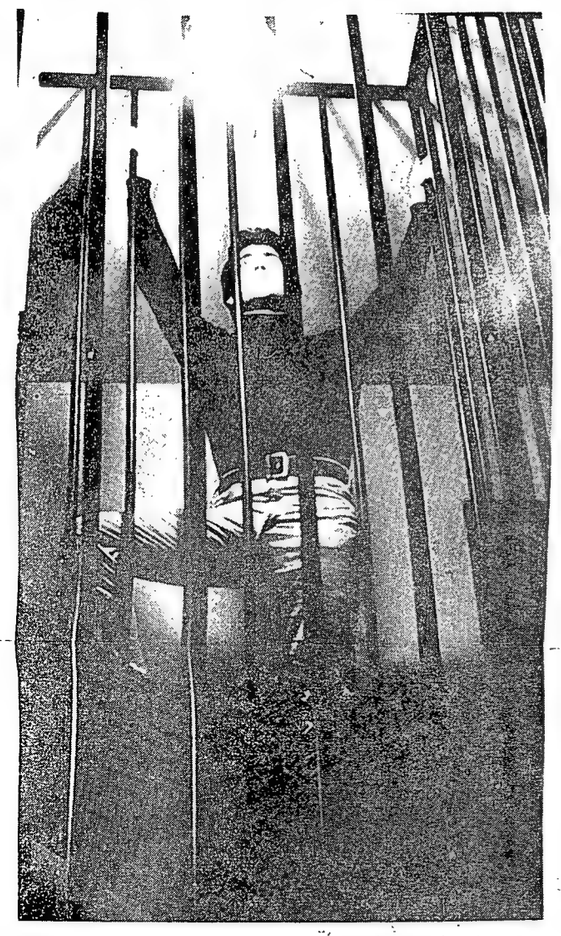
Tomorrow I will leave, I will close my door in the face of the dead years. I will go along the roads.
I will live by begging on land and on the sea, in the eyes of the new world, and I will tell the people

Profit from life, banish misery, we are all brothers, people of all countries.

If you must spill blood, spill your own, gentlemen the good apostles, gentlemen who are called great.
If you pursue me, inform your gendarmes that I will not be armed, and that they will be able to shoot.

translation by Frances Brown of a french song composed during the Algerian war and promptly banned by the French government

Best Copy Possible



"And for each unharmful, gentle
Soul misplaced inside a jail,
An' we gazed upon the chimes of
freedom flashing."

B. Dylan

Oct. 16

again

Dec. 4

Resistance members from New York, Chicago, and the Bay Area, met in Berkeley last month and established the date December 4th, as the second day of national announcements of non-cooperation. This second action will serve as a follow-up for the October 16th activities. It was decided that the second action should take place within the same school term as the first, to avoid the intervention of of college vacation, change of terms, courses, sports seasons, and the mental changes which accompany these. The continuity between the actions is of an essential value.

December 4th is a Monday, falls comfortably before exams, just precedes super patriotic Pearl Harbor Day, and sounds good in the mouth

CADRE

FROM THE SAN JOSE RESISTANCE...

San Jose, Calif. 9/15/67

The United States war machine has been used to suppress independence and social reform movements in the Philippines, Korea, Taiwan, Vietnam, Laos, Thailand, Lebanon, Guatemala, the Dominican Republic and many other countries. It supports dictatorships in most of Latin America, the Near East, Africa, and Asia. The American military is planning to intervene against popular movements in many countries in the near future--U,S. "advisors" are already active in Peru, Bolivia, Venezuela, Columbia, Guatemala, and Brazil. The Selective Service System is an essential part of the war machine : it feeds people into the military, spurs enlistments, directs students into " essential "occupations, and acts as a powerful threat to suppress dissent.

All who oppose the immoral war in Vietnam, all who oppose conscription, all who cherish liberty at home and support freedom abroad, must act to destroy the draft.

To accept registration and carry draft cards, to apply for deferments, to submit to induction or take a job essential to "national security", is to preserve the system and allow it to distort one's life. The Selective Service System is quite concious of this:

" Throughout his career as a student, the pressure -- the threat of loss of deferment-- continues. It continues with equal intensity after graduation. His local board requires periodic reports to find out what he is up to. He is impelled to pursue his skill rather than embark upon some less important enterprise and is encouraged to apply his skill in an essential activity, in the national interest. The loss of deferred status is the consequence for the individual who acquired the skill and either does not use, or uses it on a non-essential activity. The psychology of granting wide choice under pressure is the American or indirect way of achieving what is done by direction in foreign countries where choice is not permitted." (Direct quote from Selective Service System Orientation Kit, April 1965).

The draft is grossly discriminatory: those who cannot afford to go to college, those who are denied jobs, those who are unaware of C.O. opportunities or are unable to write literate philosophical treatises to obtain C.O. status(that is, the poor, the black people, the Spanish-speaking peoples), all those who suffer from the inequities of the current social order, are those who suffer most from the draft; the people who become the front line troops in America's repressive wars.

The very idea of coercing men to submit to involuntary servitude in totalitarian military organizations is obscene when those men are forced to slaughter peasants and burn villages, the obscenity cries out to be destroyed. When all men in America are compelled to carry registration cards, when young people who protest the war are drafted, the principles of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution are mocked and misused.

We call upon all Americans to join us in resisting the draft and the war machine it serves.

-- The Resistance

CHICAGO AREA DRAFT RESISTERS

CADRE

With colleges and universities reopened for the fall session, The Resistance is into its final recruiting drive for the October 16th activities. The Midwest, although not atingle with radical activity, is showing some rosy spots. If the big east and west coast actions are the cake and frosting, Iowa may very well be the surprise in the center. In Iowa, a small but intense group of draft resisters are pooling their energies to organize an action for October 16th to be held in Des Moines... A professor at Northern Iowa is also planning to hand in his card at the Federal Offices in Cedar Rapids. He expects to have a huge demonstration in support of his action. The Iowa people themselves are finding that Iowa is full of surprises. They just discovered that several men who were politically unaffiliated, recently refused induction in the state. The Resistance organizers are confident that their October 16th action will be a significant escalation of anti-war activity in Iowa. The Iowa situation reveals some trends in The Resistance nationally. By holding an action in Iowa, instead, say, Chicago, The Resistance can be made meaningful and useful as an organizing tool on a local level without losing its national significance. More and more organizations are planning such local actions, such as, Ann Arbor, St. Paul, and Iowa City.

Things are looking good for an action in Kansas City, especially if some support can be recruited from the nearby universities of Missouri and Kansas.

In Chicago, The Resistance ball is finally beginning to roll. Large-scale publicityis spreading the word, and when the universities are into full swing, daily tables, frequent speaking, engagements and rallies will dig out the resisters. A teach-in will be held at the University of Chicago on October 12th in preparation for the 16th. Staughton Lynd will be among the featured speakers. Plans are solidifying for the 16th, the demonstrations and handing in at the Federal Building, and a wave of disruptive activity at the induction center and elsewhere during Stop The Draft Week, October 16th - 21st.

SEATTLE ACTIVITY

Seattle, Wash. Sept. 17. 1967

Dear Rodney,

This is a short sort of summary of what the Draft Resistance in Seattle has been up to for the past month or so.

Our major focus is, of course, building towards the national October 16-21st activities. We are planning to have a series of rallies and meetings, on and off the University of Washington campus, and a series of speakers -- among them Ron Young, who has been coordinating the F.O.R. Draft Program, and will be flying here directly from Prague, where he has been conferring with representatives of the National Liberation Front. On one of the days during that week, we will have have a supporting demonstration for a group of people who plan to sit-in at the Induction Center and close it down -- either symbolically or actually, depending upon how many participate.

We recently had a couple of meetings with high school people in the area and drew up a leaflet (now printed) for their use, having the names of specific persons in each high school on the leaflet, so interested students can make personal contact with them for furthur information.

The Resistance here has been seeking campus recognition at the University of Washington; we have met (predictably) with administrative stalling, but our hopes are still alive. If need be, we have a lot of friends on campus who can make trouble foe an administrative bureaucracy that violates it's own codes.

In addition to regular meetings, we have been continuing a regular program of daily leafletting at the local induction center. The response has been very good, we have managed to, on various days, get from one to eight people to go into the center with leaflets, cause a ruckus, and be duly asked to relinquish their leaflets or leave. We have managed to forestall the induction of a number of guys in this manner.

Also, we have been heavily involved in publicizing and financing (to what extent we can) the court case of Russell Wills, Russ was the first person in the

cont.pg. 3

THERE IS NO EASY WAY OUT

Lenny Heller

(Lenny Heller was one of several Resistance travellers who, this summer, crossed the country speaking to young people about non-cooperation and the activities of the Resistance.)

Why do so many young people get upset when the Resistance says, "On October 16th we will return our draft cards and refuse to cooperate with the draft.. and that's that. We don't care. about the dangers .. we are concerned with the action: What will you do ?

To young people, The Resistance has come to mean action .. and that is the thing that so many fear. An action is essentially irrevocable, ospecially an action which may result in a major and hard response by the government. The answer lies, for some of us, in the campus oriented lives which we lead.

Do you remember when General Hershey said that college students would have to take ranking examinations last year? Well, young brothers across the country who were against the war, who knew how oppressed they were by this system, went into those exams like sheep, pitted against each other; trying to score a higher grade than the next, to save his own skin.

The weapon of this system is fear .. and so far it has worked. The Resistance is saying that threats won't work any more. The only way out is in the future, and that is not by taking the back door of deferments. To change the course of this country and free ourselves, we must first face up to the truth about ourselves and then, begin to act against the system of oppression. That act must be with our lives. There is simply no other way.

You can't rationalize your way out of this one. This is not the subject for a term paper. You must begin to answer that uestion, What will I do ? Most people who claim who claim to be in the opposition, just aren't doing anything. Maybe handing out leaflets.... maybe giving moral support to the non-cooperators. Well, that simply isn't enough. The only way out is the hard way. That means incurring personal risks. That means attacking the machine with your minds, your bodies, and inevitably with your lives.

cont.pg.3

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DRAFT RESISTANCE A REALITY

David Zimmerman
New York Resistance

Draft resistance is becoming a reality. We are moving beyond the mere gesture of a signature on a "We wont go " statement , or the profoundly admirable, but politically ineffective martyrdom of the moral witness.

T There are two general forms of draft resistance . 1) Enough people, organized in a certain way, can immobilize the selective service mechanism for a time. 2) The young men who are actually being told to serve can simply refuse. The second is obviously the most basic. It it is the form of resistance for which we must aim in attempting to build a draft resistance movement.

In attempting to build such a movement , we must realize that correspon - ding to the two forms of resistance, there are for now , at least tw sets of appro - priate tactics and strategies.. Non draft age people and draft age men presently with " safe "deferments have a role in developing the first form of resistance. The Resistance , a group which grew out of the "We won't go " statements and the draft card burnings on April 15th, has been organized for the purpose of con - fronting , disrupting, and ultimately immobilizing Selective Service. This act, however, must go beyond the merely-symbolic .

Therefore, October 16th must become the "critical mass" out of which will will emerge a whole proliferation of disruptive confrontations with the war machine. This can be accomplished in a program of strategic , disruptive confrontation.

Once a process of disruptive confrontation has been initiated out of October 16th, once we have been able to draw on the campuses for commitments and manpower, then we can begin to think about more imaginative tactics. In the months after October 16th, we can intensify our organizing of non-cooperation. A group of people in the San Francisco Bay Area is organizing for a series of draft obstructive activities. We endorse this action. We simply feel that the Resistance is in no position at this time to do justice to this tactic. However, we will learn from the experience of the California people. One of the aims of the October 16th action is precisely to put us in a position in the future to organize the massive and imaginative disruption that is needed to stop the draft process. The beautiful thing about the idea is that it clearly requires the participation of , not only draft-age men who are adopting a position of non-cooperation, but also pro - vides a role in draft resistance for those who are not yet ready to give up their deferments, and for those professionals, mothers, women, etc., who consider Selective Service worthy of attack. It provides, in other words, one way of ade - quately making concrete the rather weak phrase " Support -in-Action". Acting together we can all clog up draft boards and induction centers, stop buses, harass, disrupt, and immobilize

If this tactical sketch of the first form of draft resistance is to have any meaning , we must go to the first of our constituencies between now and October 16th. This means finding a contact now on each campus in our respective areas. Through this contact we should be able to call a campus meeting after October 16th, set up a Resistance table on a semi-permanent basis, organize mass leafletings and articles in the campus press, and speaking dates. Hopefully, what will emerge is a campus based network of draft resistance groups. We have made a start here, but the big job comes when school opens. The job is particularly important for two reasons. First, as was suggested, the first form of draft resistance will be insignificant without a campus base. Second, given the relationship of Selective Service as an institution to the war in Vietnam and especially to the garrison society in general, draft resistance provides a whole set of experiences out of which commitments to radical politics can , and will come. Some of the men who renounce their deferments will become heavily involved in community organizing projects, radicals in the professions programs etc. They will begin seriously to engage in thought and action aimed at radically changing the structure of their society.

At this point, the second and most critical form of draft resistance begins to become a reality. If we are ever to cut into the manpower pool, we must now begin reaching the second of our constituencies, the young men who are actually being called to fight and die. We of the Resistance have, for the past month, been picketing and leafletting the induction centers in Manhattan, and Brooklyn every morning. We have reached many young men about the draft and alternatives. A handful of young men have refused induction, and sought our aid in their struggle as a result of this action. A group of Staten Islanders(!), seeing the picket line, has contacted us about setting up a peace group in their community. Most important , a young man approached us at Whitehall and on his initiative set up a meeting in his home with some of his friends who are worried about the draft, and their struggle in the poor community. Hopefully this will lead directly into the establishment of community based organizing projects. To some extent the initiative is ours. With this in mind, we have begun to set up resistance-oriented group counseling sessions in several presently existing community organizing projects in New York's Lower East Side. It is much too early to forecast the success of this project, but it is clear, even now, that without efforts in this direction, without a base of poor, working-class, and middle-class communities, (the " stable " communities) no program of draft resistance, or for radical change, can hope to succeed. Those interested in any form of draft resistance, must be attentive to this broader context. We in the Resistance have not devoted enough energy to this "constituency," to this broader context, and for a good reason. We haven't had the time. Planning for October 16th has absorbed our energies and resources , but after October 16th, once an organization developes, we will have to develope conceptions of community organizing, we will have to become more than a one-issue group. We are merely the first phase now. It is oriented around a specific tactic , which we think will give us some momentum, momentum for a second phase more broadly oriented around a strategy and program for radical politics. Once we have had a chance to see how the October 16th phase is playing itself out, then we will be able to give content to this second phase. If we don't , the the 16th becomes a tactic without a strategy or program, in other words, a tactic which is blind.

Engaging in the first form of draft resistance, giving up our deferments, adopting a position of disruptive non-cooperation, puts us in a position of struggle , makes our struggle relevant to those who are now being told to fight and die, begins to make the second, most important form of draft resistance a reality, begins to open up our own radical perspective beyond the issue of the draft itself.

Therefore , we of the Resistance issue this call: Draft age men: give up your deferments , talk to your brothers on the campuses, organize , and join us on October 16th. Women, professionals, businessmen, pacifists, mothers, fathers : make your support for the October 16th action vocal and visible. Join us in dis - ruptively confronting the war machine during the months following October 16th. All who share our sense of urgency: let us together make draft resistance a reality .

Heller, no easy way.. Cont.

You can run to Canada if you like ... but you'll find the same person staring at you in the mirror when you get there. You can hide behind the deferments of the SSS if you like , and whisper a relief filled "Thank you master," but that doesn't change the state of your servitude. We have discovered that we have no control over America, and very little over the course of our own lives. The only question that needs to be answered is , when do you revolt. The Resistance is saying that the time is now. Decide now.

Don't you see brothers .. there is no easy way out . Around the world men are fighting the oppressor. Shall we not join them now ? Or shall we continue to embrace our chains and bury ourselves in delusions of freedom ?

After much pain, we of the Resistance have found no other choice... we will fight.. if you can find the strength , open your eyes, relax , and DO IT . JOIN THE RESISTANCE !!

SEATTLE cont..

U.S. convicted and sentenced to five years in prison for refusing induction into the armed forces of the United States; therefore , his case constitutes an important precedent; we can't afford to let him lose. Besides , he's a hell of a nice guy.

That sums up, in brief, our actions to date; hope this can be of use to The Resistance Newsletter

Resist, resist, resist !!
Dan Raphael
for the dR - Seattle

Bratislava cont.

With students resisting the draft forcibly in Saigon, I was inclined to feel that the Vietnamese might not take the Resistance or any non-violent resistance to the American military seriously. But throughout the conference I found in their attitude a com - plete refusal to say what forms of rei tance are appropriate in the US. They continually encouraged us to resist according to our knowledge of American society. If they approached advice, it was usually caution. About eight Americans gave their draft cards to Madame Binh during the meeting, and she wanted to give them back because she was afraid that it was too dangerous an act for them to have taken. With a little persuasion from the eight, though, she held them.

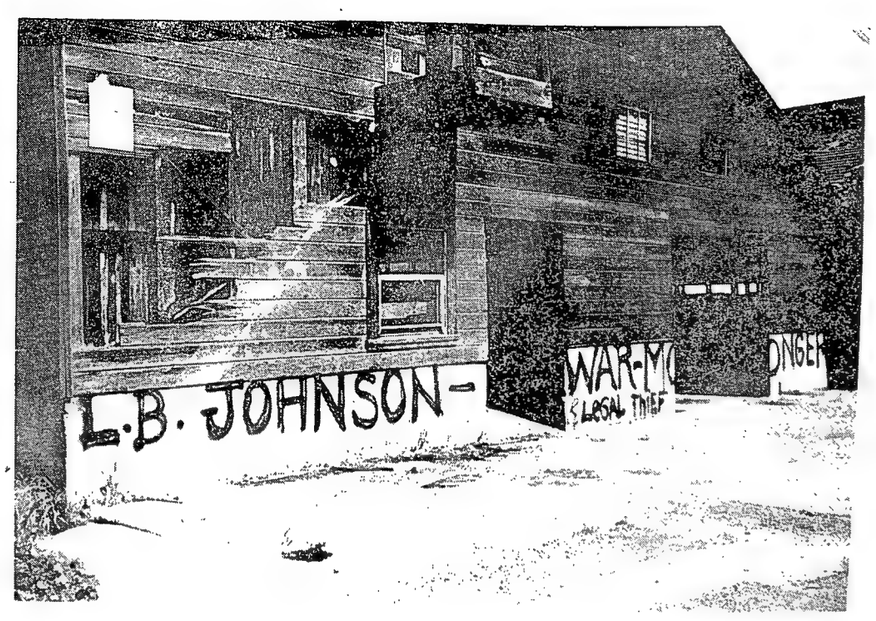
Riding on a bus through the Czech countryside I was sitting with Xuan Oahn, a composer and member of the North Vietnamese Peace Committee, and he began talking about "adventurousness" in revolutionary thinking. The Vietnamese see armed struggle as the highest form of political struggle. The consciousness of large numbers of people must be raised to the level of supporting revolutionary acts before they are undertaken. Persons who would act prematurely will inevitably be crushed and will have no one behind them with the resolution to stand with them. This always means greater despair and the retardation of developing political consciousness. Arms by themselves do not mean revolution.

The Vietnamese, after forty years of resistance, are evenly disciplined. They sat patiently through six days of formal reports, taking notes quietly, posture impeccable. The long conference table they sat around was as neat at the end of each day's session as it had been early in the morning.

The Americans sometimes had trouble getting up on time for the morning reports. By late afternoon, arms and legs draped over tables and chairs. By dinnertime, the conference table on our side of the banquet hall looked a little like Vietnam after the Americans arrived. But Madame Binh politely congratulated us on the "simplicity" of our style of living in her closing remarks.

The NFL well deserves its name. It has not only liberated most of South Vietnam from colonialism, but is beginning to liberate people everywhere as the news of its success spreads. The example of its struggle against a society so powerful in material and technological resources that ir inspires fear in its own people, is one of the few inst instances where one can find today a restatement of the human will to live one's own life.

Dennis Sweeney



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THE RESISTANCE

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Madison 255-6575

PUERTO RICO
¶ Tom Dorney
Collegio San Ignacio
Rio Piedres,

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845-4882

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S. F. Theological Seminary
San Anselmo
454-5815

¶Tony Nugent, Bruce Nelson,
Loren Basham
The Hearth
1321 Oak St. S. F.
626-9613 or 431-8881

¶Vincent O'Connor
Catholic Peace Fellowship
584 Page St.
San Francisoo
621-3787

NEW YORK
¶Barry Johnson
225 E. 106th St. #13-C
New York City
(212) 427-0177 or 870-2020

¶Ron Young
Fellowship of Reconciliation
P.O. Box 271
Nyack
(914) 358-4601 or 786-2165

THE WORLD IS SICK UNTO DEATH OF BLOOD SPILLING

—M.K. Gandhi—

THE RESISTANCE NEWSLETTER
2269 Cooley Avenue
East Palo Alto, California

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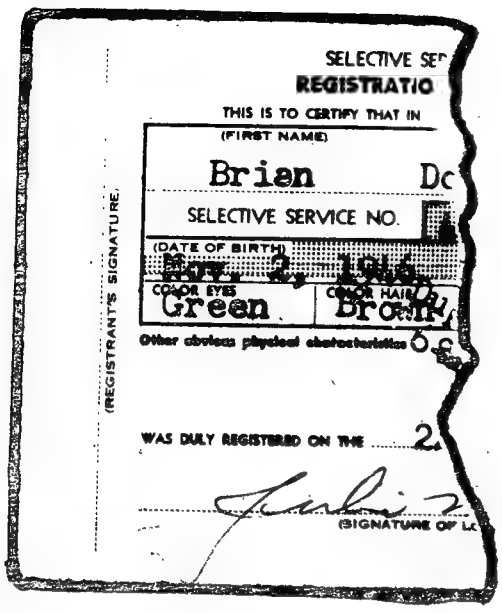
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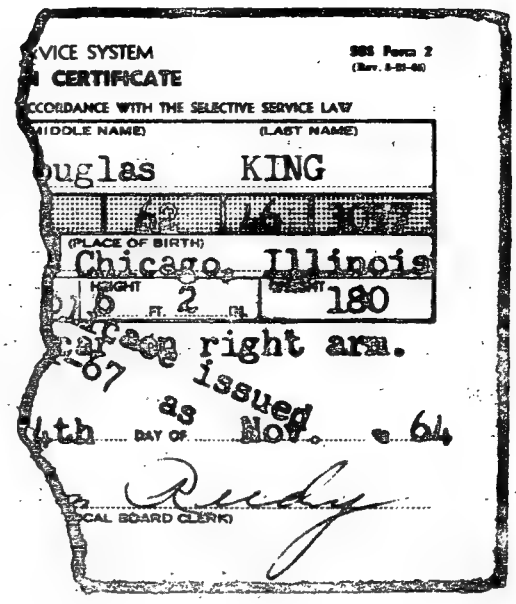
VICE SYSTEM
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4th DAY OF Nov. 64
CAL BOARD CLERK)

The Resistance is a group of young men committed to a stance of complete noncooperation with military conscription. On October 16 members of the Resistance around the country will be publically returning their draft cards to the government. We will not accept any classification, any deferment, any orders from Selective Service. From that day on, we will follow a course of continual confrontation with the draft. To resist faces each of us with the possibility of five years in federal prison. Such is the threat to which we refuse to submit. Whatever plans for prosecution the government attempts to use against us will be used to further resistance If we are to be imprisoned, we will build until the day of our imprisonment. We are a community united by a feeling about our lives and for what ends our lives must be led. We will act as a community, continually growing, continually facing military conscription as a body rather than isolated individuals. Join us.

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From young people in this country must spring new life. Not life as a garrison state. Not life as a series of economic institutions that have made men's work the tool for their own enslavement in body and mind. Not life as a society governed by the artificialities of society. Not life as the fragmentation of men's lives and the use of those lives as tools for the state. Instead, a simple statement. A statement that the good of a society cannot be built with a network of armies and navies encircling the globe. That the people of this country must take possession of their lives and that those lives be used to accomplish the good of humanity, not the priorities of the state. That the oppression of any people in the world is our oppression. That the hope for a situation of equality and justice in this country and the world rests on our being free in the face of America.

Resist.

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FD-340 (REV. 6-24-65)

File No. 100-40116-195

Date Received 11.16.67

From _____
(NAME OF CONTRIBUTOR)

_____
(ADDRESS OF CONTRIBUTOR)

_____
(CITY AND STATE)

By _____
(NAME OF SPECIAL AGENT)

To Be Returned ☐ Yes ☐ No

Receipt given ☐ Yes ☐ No

Description:

One envelope addressed to Mrs M. Mathews Box 38457 Los Angeles Calif.

See Ser. 35

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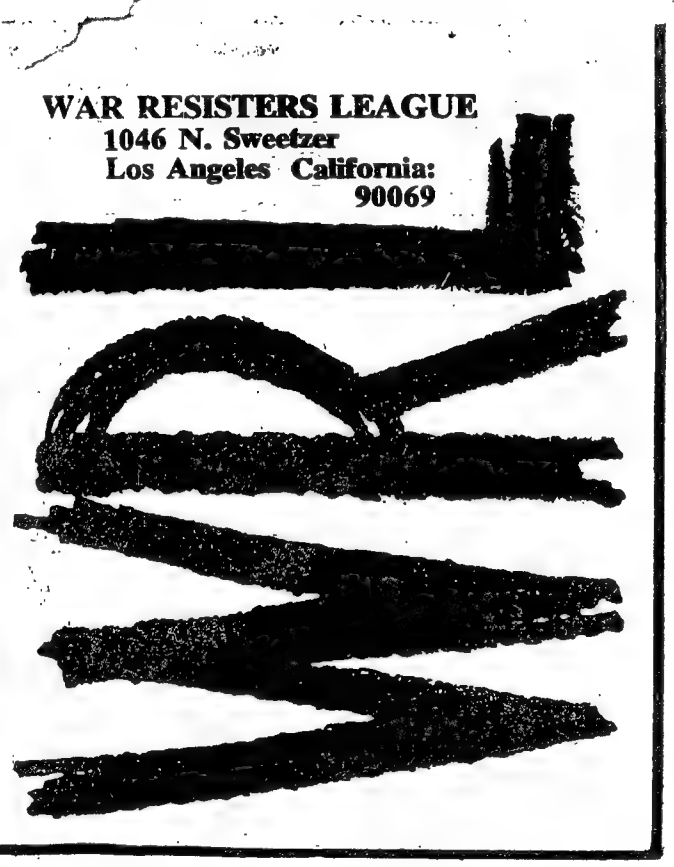
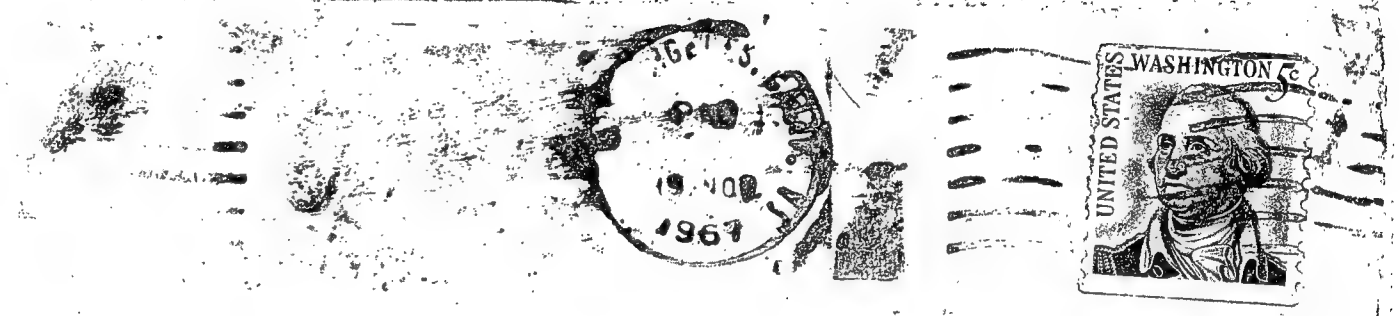
WAR RESISTERS LEAGUE
1046 N. Sweetzer
Los Angeles California:
90069





Mrs. M. Mathew
Box 38457
Los Angeles, 38, calif.

Printed Matter

LETTERS IN SUPPORT OF CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTOR CLAIM

One way the conscientious objector can strengthen his claim to classification as a CO is to secure several good letters supporting his stand and submit them to his draft board. These letters may be submitted along with the Special Form for Conscientious Objectors (SSS Form 150), if at all possible; but they can be submitted later. They become a part of the CO's file. Good supporting letters are invaluable.

HOW MANY LETTERS: We suggest at least five - but more will help. Quality counts too.

WHOM SHALL I ASK? Get letters from your teachers, minister, and from friends you know well. We suggest including not more than two or three letters from relatives. Letters from nonpacifists are important.

CONTENTS OF A GOOD SUPPORTING LETTER: Letters should express the writer's belief

1) in the sincerity of the CO making the claim;
2) that the general character of the CO's life and thought is consistent with his stand as a CO to war;
3) That his stand in opposition to participation in war is "by reason of his religious training and belief."

Brief, well written letters establishing these points are important. The writer should identify himself and state the nature of his relation to the CO. If the writer disagrees with the CO's stand, this should be stated. Such a letter may get more weight from the draft board.

Letters should be addressed to "Chairman, Draft Board." Typed letters are more likely to be read.

WHEN REQUESTING LETTERS OF SUPPORT:

1) Ask your references to speak directly to the three main points listed above.

2) Send each a brief summary statement of the basis of your CO position so they can write with this information before them.

3) Your references will write better letters if they have a clear understanding of the meaning of "religious training and belief" and "supreme being" as contained in the draft law. We suggest you send each of your references a copy of ARE YOU A CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTOR TO WAR? (One page summary of the CO provisions in the draft law as interpreted by court decisions and actual practice; published by CCCO, free upon request.) Be sure that your references understand that the emphasis is upon religious "belief" and "experience," not upon formal religious training.

4) Ask your references to send their supporting letters directly to you. You should read them over before submitting them to the draft board. If you think a particular letter will not help your claim, do not submit it. It is your claim that is at stake. Try to secure at least three copies of each letter, or make photocopies before you submit the letters to your draft board.

5) Inform your references that the FBI may send an agent to interview them at some future time about your CO claim. Remind them to speak to the same points as outlined above. Remind them, too, of their right to decline an interview, and of their right to submit their answers in writing if they wish.

Issued by: War Resisters League, L.A., 1046 N. Sweetzer, L.A. 69
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Additional copies available fr[illegible]mpilers of this information:
American Friends Service C[illegible]mittee, P.O. Box 991, Pasadena

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Fact Sheet on Vietnam and the Draft

Are you one of the thousands of young people in the United States deeply concerned over and utterly opposed to the role of the United States Government and its armed forces in Vietnam? Many are not yet drafted; some are in the armed forces or one of its reserve components. What can you do?

Violation of Selective Service regulations can bring stiff penalties (up to five years imprisonment and/or $10,000 fine) and refusing the orders of a superior officer is a serious offense. However, THERE ARE RIGHTS AS WELL AS OBLIGATIONS, and these should be known by every registrant, reservist, and member of the armed forces.

What About Conscientious Objector Status?

Does your conscience require that you not enter the armed forces, or that you seek a discharge? An individual's conscience may speak in political, moral, or religious vocabulary, depending on one's background and other factors. But however your opposition to U.S. Military intervention in Vietnam may be stated, does it not spring from some basic concept of what man's relationship to man *should* be? If so, you may hold, in the U.S. Supreme Court's terminology, "a sincere and meaningful belief which occupies in the life of its possessor a place parallel to that filled by God of those admittedly qualifying for" conscientious objector status. If you sincerely hold a belief which gives you a sense of obligation *not* to accept induction into the armed forces, or *to* seek a discharge, you may well meet the draft law's required belief in "Supreme Being". Further, recent court decisions make it clear that your claim need not be based purely on "religious training and belief".

Must COs Be Pacifists?

Do you feel you are not opposed to "war in any form", the second requirement for CO status? This is less subject to interpretation than the first, but not as simple as it may seem on the surface. Some men confuse ends and means. It is perfectly possible to approve the *object* of, say, a violent uprising in South Africa for self-rule, and at the same time believe the *method* to be both wrong and ineffective. In the case of Vietnam, if you oppose the objectives of the U.S. Government but not its methods, you are in a minority among thousands who object to both the methods and the immediate aims. Many would accept "preventing the spread of communism" as a valid aim, but not at the expense of beliefs in self-determination and other fundamental values. Those in the latter two categories, even though they do not consider themselves to be pacifists, should examine whether in fact they see any world situation in which American military might should be employed on either side of any potential or active dispute between nations or groups. If not, they might well be opposed to "war in any form", without having thought themselves qualified for CO status.

Sincerity Is Tested

If you hold a conscientious position in regard to participation in the armed forces, you should obtain the HANDBOOK FOR CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS (50¢) and ask your local board for SSS No. 150, the Special Form for Conscientious Objectors. The third requirement of Selective Service is that the claim be sincere. An honest claim is the strongest claim; a dishonest one is likely to backfire not only on you, but on others claiming CO status. When in doubt, give yourself the benefit of the doubt, and let Selective Service determine whether you qualify. If, however, you cannot honestly sign your name to the SSS No. 150 statement that you are "by reason of religious training and belief" a conscientious objector to "war in any form", cross out whichever phrase you are *certain* is not true.

Local boards are obliged to send out the Special Form on request; the registrant is obliged to return it within ten days. If you are I-A and have not received an order to report for induction, your classification should be reopened automatically and your claim considered. If you are deferred, your claim will not be considered until you lose your deferment. The later the claim, the more likely it is to be viewed with some suspicion. Your rights of appeal are set out in the HANDBOOK. Men who obtain I-A-O status are inducted, but do not train with weapons. Men who obtain the I-O classification are required to perform two years of civilian alternative service in the "national health, safety or interest" for nonprofit agencies, institutions or organizations.

Can I Change My Mind?

Reservists and men in the armed forces are applying for discharge by the scores if not by the hundreds. In addition to the above Selective Service requirements they must have become COs *after* having enlisted, or been drafted, and must waive all veterans' rights. The discharge is a general one, usually under honorable conditions. Men considering this step should have "The Conscientious Objector and the Armed Forces", the HANDBOOK FOR CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS, and a copy of the relevant regulations: NAVY, BUPERS 1616.6; MARINE CORPS: MCO 1306.16A; AIR FORCE: AFR 35-24; ARMY: AR 635-20. National Guardsmen and Army Reservists should apply under AR 135-25. Every applicant is placed on noncombatant status pending a decision, usually rendered from six weeks to three months after the application. Men are sometimes not sent overseas during that period, but there is no guarantee.

Warning

It may well be that your CO claim will be denied. Do not apply for a CO position or for discharge as a CO if you are merely expressing a preference. You only make it harder for the next man and distort your position. On the other hand, don't underrate a feeling of opposition or uneasiness. It may be your conscience trying to be heard.

The Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors offers its services to any young man who takes an open, conscientious position in regard to the draft, including noncooperators. It advocates no specific position. For the HANDBOOK FOR CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS ($1.00) or further information contact the:

CENTRAL COMMITTEE FOR CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS

West Coast Office • 514 Mission St., San Francisco, California 94105 • (415) 397-6917

J. Barton Harrison, Chairmen **Arlo Tatum, Executive Secretary**

2006 Walnut St., Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19103

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DocId:34423788 Page 20

Are you a conscientious objector to war?

Introduction

You may be one of the many young men of draft age who have serious objections to war. Are you aware of the provisions of the draft law for conscientious objectors? Or are you questioning whether your particular basis of objection to war is covered by the law? The following paragraphs may be helpful to you.

The present draft law provides that no person shall

> be subject to combatant training and service in the armed forces of the United States who, by reason of religious training and belief, is conscientiously opposed to participation in war in any form. Religious training and belief in this connection means an individual's belief in a relation to a Supreme Being involving duties superior to those arising from any human relation, but does not include essentially political, sociological, or philosophical views or a merely personal moral code. *(Section 6j of the Universal Military Training and Service Act of 1951, as amended)*

The conscientious objector who is opposed only to combatant duty will, if his claim is sustained by his draft board, be assigned to noncombatant military duty, usually in the Army medical service. If found opposed to combatant and noncombatant duty, he will be ordered to perform civilian work of national importance.

Religious Training and Belief Defined

Religious training and belief should be viewed as a single concept with emphasis clearly upon belief. A federal court has held that "so far as Congress was thinking of training, it regarded it as meaning no more than individual experience supporting belief; a mere background against which sincerity could be tested." Religious training and belief includes any belief, orthodox or unorthodox. It does not have to include fear of religious sanctions, such as punishment after death or excommunication from the church. Beliefs which are religious at their root are covered by the law.

The draft law definition of religious training and belief does not require you to be a member of any church or religious organization, nor to adhere to any formal creed. Formal religious training, such as received in Sunday School, is not required by the law, although evidence of such may strengthen your claim.

The Supreme Being Clause

The requirement of "a belief in a relation to a Supreme Being involving duties superior to those arising from any human relation" may present the greatest difficulty for some. Yet the legal definition of Supreme Being may be broad enough to include your particular belief. You do not have to believe in a Supreme Being in some anthropomorphic sense of a personality having corporeal existence. On March 8, 1965 the Supreme Court handed down its "parallel belief" decision, using these words:

> . . . the test of belief 'in a relation to a Supreme Being' is whether a given belief that is sincere and meaningful occupies a place in the life of its possessor parallel to that filled by the orthodox belief in God of one who clearly qualifies for the exemption. Where such beliefs have parallel positions in the lives of their respective holders we cannot say that one is 'in a relation to a Supreme Being' and the other is not.

Who Should Apply

If your objection to war rests on long-established and conventional religious beliefs which include belief in a Supreme Being, you should apply for classification as a conscientious objector.

If you hold liberal, questioning, or more unorthodox views on religion, you should apply for a CO classification. If you cannot conscientiously answer *yes* to the Supreme Being clause, answer with an *I don't know* or *Depends upon what you mean,* or leave it blank. Then follow with a clear, simple statement of what you do believe. If you answer *no* to the Supreme Being question, you will probably be denied the special appeal procedure available to CO claimants.

If you consider your objection to war as "nonreligious" in nature, or if you feel conscientiously compelled to declare yourself an atheist, you should file the special CO form, and put into your draft record the basis of your objection to war.

Only you can decide whether you are an objector to war, and the basis of your objection. Selective Service will determine whether your particular belief comes within the draft law provisions for conscientious objectors. Some draft boards are quite liberal in their interpretations. *Do not assume that you do not qualify.*

Further Information

Write the Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors, 514 Mission St., San Francisco, Calif. 94105 for further information about the CO provisions in the draft law. CCCO was established in 1948 as a nonsectarian counseling service available to all COs regardless of the basis of their objection to war.

CCCO publishes the HANDBOOK FOR CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS, a thorough treatment of CO problems in relation to the draft law. Includes helpful chapters on thinking through the basis for conscientious objection; the CO in the armed forces; and the CO in prison. Also includes a select and annotated bibliography on conscientious objection.

Published by The Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors, 2006 Walnut Street, Philadelphia, Pa. 19103
LOcust 3-1480. A. J. Muste, J. Barton Harrison, Co-chairmen; Arlo Tatum, Executive Secretary.

West Coast Office • 514 Mission St., San Francisco, California 94105 • (415) 397-6917

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BOOKS YOU MAY WANT TO BUY

The Politics of Escalation in Vietnam. Franz Schurmann, Peter Dale Scott, Reginald Zelnik. 160 pp. 60¢

With a special foreword by Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., this book gives documented facts showing the insincerity of Johnson's "peace offensives." Just published, this book is a "must" for those who still believe in the credibility of Johnson.

Handbook For C.O.'s. 104 pp. 50¢

If you are of draft age and object to military service this book is essential.

CURIOUS ABOUT PACIFISM?

The War Resisters League was formed in 1923 to oppose *all* wars. At a time when organized violence may destroy humanity the pacifist position may be the only realistic one open. For an introduction to pacifist thought, we recommend the following paperbacks.

The Quiet Battle. Edited by Mulford Q. Sibley. 390 pp. $1.45

Writings on the theory and practice of nonviolent resistance.

Conquest of Violence. Joan V. Bondurant. 272 pp. $1.75

A contemporary classic of pacifist theory.

Order any of the above from:

War Resisters League
5 Beekman Street; Room 1025
New York; N. Y. 10038

TAX REFUSAL AND THE LAW

Imposition of the telephone tax is covered by Section 4251 (a) of the Internal Revenue Code, which reads, "The taxes imposed by this section shall be paid by the person paying for the services."

This provision is amplified in the Internal Revenue Regulations, Section 49.4251-2 (c) LIABILITY FOR, AND RETURN OF, TAX: The taxes imposed by Section 4251 are payable by the person paying for the service rendered, and shall be paid to the person rendering the services, who is required to collect the tax and return and pay over the tax in accordance with the applicable provisions of the regulations contained in Subparts F and G.

According to the Commerce Clearing House 1966 Excise Tax Guide, Paragraph 2235 on Collection of Tax by Another Person, "Certain miscellaneous taxes are imposed on the person making the payment but are required to be collected by the person receiving the payment. All taxes collected in this manner are held by the collecting agent in trust for the United States until paid over to the district director of internal revenue. If the person from whom the tax is required to be collected refuses to pay it or if for any other reason it is impossible for the collecting agency to collect the tax from such person, the collecting agency is required to report the facts to the district director of internal revenue and the tax will then be collected by direct assessment against the person failing or refusing to pay the tax to the collecting agent." Exactly the same language appears in Prentice Hall Federal Taxes, Excise Volume, Paragraph 189,514-A, with a reference to Statement of Procedural Rules CB 1955-2, Page 977, Section 601,493 (c) (2).

This indicates that the ultimate responsibility for paying, or refusing, the tax lies with the telephone user, not with the phone company, and that if the user refuses to pay the tax as billed, the issue will be settled directly between him and the Internal Revenue Service, through its standard collection procedures, rather than by termination of telephone service. This also agrees with informal opinions given by representatives of Illinois Bell Telephone Co. and the Chicago District office of IRS.

Having dealt with the question of tax liability, and collection procedures, it might be well, for the record, to mention the subject of criminal penalties for tax refusal. One who "wilfully fails to pay" the phone tax could possibly be charged with a misdemeanor, under Section 7203 of the Internal Revenue Code, and be imprisoned for a period up to one year and fined an amount up to $10,000. It is also possible that one could be charged with attempt to "evade or defeat" the phone tax, under a section carrying a stiffer penalty.

However, experiences of objectors to other federal war taxes during the past several years indicate that the government would not be interested in pressing criminal charges, but that it would instead try here or there to collect the tax (with interest).

The campaign to refuse payment of the telephone war tax has been initiated by individuals and is supported by WRL and the following organizations:

CATHOLIC WORKER, 175 Chrystie St., New York, N.Y., 10002; COMMITTEE FOR NONVIOLENT ACTION, 5 Beekman St., Rm. 1033, New York, N. Y. 10038; PEACEMAKERS, 10208 Sylvan Ave. (Gano), Cincinnati, Ohio, 45241; STUDENT PEACE UNION, 5 Beekman St., Tenth Floor, New York, N. Y., 10038.

Printed by the Grindstone Press

Hang up on war!

TELEPHONE WAR TAX REFUSAL CAMPAIGN

War Resisters League

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REFUSE TELEPHONE TAX

You have it in your power to hold back this tax. Some have stopped paying — their phone service continues.

Why was the 10 percent telephone tax restored?

Because of the widening war in Vietnam, federal legislation was passed which, in April, 1966, restored the 10% tax on telephone bills. At that time the tax was 3% and due to be dropped entirely in 1969.

"It is clear," said Rep. Wilbur Mills, who managed the tax legislation in the House, "that the Vietnam and only the Vietnam operation makes this bill necessary." [Congressional Record, February 23, 1966]

What does your telephone tax pay for?

Congressman Mills was always careful to refer to "our operations in Vietnam." But those of us who know its true nature know that it is not an operation but a tragic bloodbath. We know that revenue for the Vietnam war pays for:

- napalm, mass bombings, and other attacks on civilian areas resulting in extermination of thousands of Vietnamese—about 200,000 casualties in the last year and a half
- forcing young Americans into "kill-civilians-or-be-killed" situations. Over 5,000 G.I.'s have been killed in Vietnam.
- perpetuating a military dictatorship
- violation of the Nuremberg precedents, the U.N. Charter, and the Geneva Accords of 1954
- indefinite continuation of war against a people who desire above all to be alive and to determine their destiny free from foreign domination.

Why boycott this tax?

A tax boycott demonstrates that you believe this war to be immoral and/or illegal and that you are willing to act on this belief.

We boycott the telephone tax because:

- it is a tax directly imposed to pay for the war in Vietnam
- anyone who has a phone can refuse to pay this tax
- telephone companies have indicated that refusal to pay this tax will not result in interruption of your phone service
- the monthly refusal of a small amount of money creates a thorny collection problem for the Internal Revenue Service.

What happens to telephone tax refusers?

Individuals in many parts of the country have begun refusal of the war tax. In all instances on which we have the facts, telephone companies have assured the refusers that their telephone service will not be interrupted.

The phone company treats refusal as a matter between the individual and the government. In most cases the refused tax will continue to be carried on the telephone bill as an "unpaid balance," but in at least one case the customer will no longer be billed for the accumulated tax by the phone company.

There are some indications that phone companies are welcoming protests against the tax. One phone company called to remind a customer that on the bill he had just paid he had forgotten to refuse the tax.

See back panel for possible but unlikely legal consequences of telephone tax refusal.

What Happens If...

Most phone companies are not shutting off service for nonpayment of this tax. But what happens if your local company does threaten to turn off the phone? At that point, if for business or personal reasons you must keep your phone, you could pay the tax under protest. You will have protested to the limit of your ability. Your protest will have been heard. It will count.

Please fill out and return to WRL, 5 Beekman St., Room 1025, New York, N.Y. 10038.

I plan to join the protest against the payment of the Federal tax on my telephone bill because of American military action in Vietnam.

Signed _____

Date _____

☐ You may make my name public as a participant in this action.

☐ Please keep my name in confidence.

☐ Please send more copies of this leaflet (price: $1/100; $7/1000).

Name _____
(please print)

Address _____

_____
Zip

☐ Enclosed is my contribution of $_____ to help with the on-going work of WRL.

☐ Please send more information about WRL.

Every day, in Vietnam,
more than a hundred people are killed;
Every week more than a thousand die . . .

what can I do to end this war?

The longest journey begins with the first step—
The strongest movement is made up of individuals.

5¢

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Once or twice a year those of us living in or near the big cities can take part in mass peace demonstrations. At election time we can vote for peace candidates—if there are any on the ballot in our district. But what can one man or woman do *now—today—tomorrow?* What can we do if we are too young to vote or too old to demonstrate—day after day, between the protests and the elections?

The War Resisters League has drawn up the following list of suggestions. Half of them are things one person can do alone. The others are actions which small groups of people can take. Some are moderate and some are radical. Some take money and some nerve. One thing is certain—you will find at least one which you, or your local group, can use.

The pacifist movement always marches ahead on a thousand fronts at once because it is made up of the kind of individuals who want to move in their own direction, at their own time. If you see a suggestion you don't like, don't hassle about it—move on to a suggestion you do find helpful.

BE YE WISE AS SERPENTS BUT GENTLE AS DOVES
(or—don't blow your cool)

If people do not listen to us, is it because they are stupid or evil, or because we don't know how to talk to them? Our job is communication. The angry voice and the fanatic opinion are of little help to the peace movement.

1. **Be informed.** Don't go off half-cocked. Get the facts on Vietnam. For $1.25 you can get *Vietnam: Lotus in a Sea of Fire* by Thich Nhat Hanh—a good background to the present situation which can be ordered from us. Of great value in keeping up with the situation is *I. F. Stone's Weekly*, $5 a year (5618 Nebraska Ave. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20015).

2. **Inform others.**

a Make up a list of five or ten key people in your community—opinion leaders such as editors, business and labor leaders, ministers, educators. Write them a short personal note to the effect you know how busy they are and how easy it is to miss important items and that, because they are important men in the community, you hope they won't mind your taking the liberty of mailing them, from time to time, special items on Vietnam. The WRL has a special list of reprints and inexpensive pamphlets which are ideal for this purpose. Write for your copy.

b Christmas list/Address book. Dig up your Christmas list or your address book and send a letter to *everyone* on it—old school friends, relatives, business associates. Apologize for imposing political concerns on them but point out that Vietnam is so urgent you have felt moved to share some of the facts. Enclose a short reprint on the situation. (Again, write us for the WRL list of Vietnam material.)

c Write professional associates. Ministers will often read a letter from another minister, union leaders who might ignore "peacenik" ads and marches will often respond to a personal letter from another trade unionist, etc.

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d Koffee Klatch Kaper. Invite some friends and neighbors over to share and exchange information and opinions. If possible get an informed peace worker to come as the guest around whom the "Koffee Klatch" can be arranged. Have literature handy along with the coffee/tea/beer.

e Donate books and magazine subscriptions to your local library, helping insure a flow of information on Vietnam to the general public.

3. **Write your Congressmen and Senators.** It doesn't matter how "impossibly reactionary" your representatives may be —they are human and they have to run for reelection. Occasional personal letters will not save the world but they help, particularly if directed towards a specific issue or vote, rather than to the war in general.

4. **Political action.** Not all WRL members believe in electoral action but if you do then remember that working inside your local party organization (or outside of it, campaigning for independents) has greater impact than letters.

5. **Write the newspapers.** Almost all papers have a "letters column." Use it. In addition why not the example of a WRL member in Iowa—keep tab on other "peace oriented" letter writers and send them material on the WRL?

6. **Radio.** In many parts of the country there are "talk shows" where people can phone in their opinions. Even if you are confined to bed by age or illness here is a way to take part in the peace movement. In some areas local stations will carry discussions of pacifism—these are available from us on tapes. Write for a list of available tapes.

7. **Run ads.** A WRL member in Maryland has kept his community alive to the peace issue by running ads in his local paper. We particularly urge ads letting men of draft age know of their right to file as Conscientious Objectors. (Write us for sample layouts for three different ads.)

8. **Wear a peace button.** Wearing a button isn't as silly as it may seem—it not only shows where you stand but often it will help start a conversation. We have ND symbols and broken rifle pins for sale. 10c each for the inexpensive buttons, 75c each for the metal pins. Also a special button with a small map of Vietnam and the word "PAX"—25c.

9. **Boycott Dow Chemical.** Dow Chemical is one of the firms making napalm—and it also makes various consumer goods, including Saran Wrap. Don't buy Dow. How about a leaflet distribution in front of a supermarket for an hour on Saturday?

10. **Refuse to pay your telephone tax.** There is a 10% federal tax on every phone bill. Deduct this when you pay the bill, explain to the phone company why you are doing this, and continue to refuse this payment until the war is over. Hundreds — if not thousands — have joined this protest. Write us for a WRL leaflet explaining the project.

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11. **Refuse to pay your income tax.** An increasing number of outstanding Americans are joining the tax refusal program. Send 35c for your copy of *Handbook on Tax Refusal.*

12. **Affiliate/Organize.** Everything we've mentioned so far can be done by you, alone. But some things can be done only by groups. If there is a peace group in your area, join it. If there is none, organize one. Write us for information on who in your area might be able to come to your city or town and help you organize.

13. **Meals of reconciliation.** The Fellowship of Reconciliation pioneered the concept of "bread and water banquets"—meals of reconciliation—to help raise funds for relief work in Vietnam. For further information write FoR, Box 271, Nyack, N.Y. 10960. (They will also transmit funds to the Buddhists in South Vietnam.) Even more dramatic work on relief has been done by A Quaker Action Group, 20 S. 12 St., Philadelphia, Pa. 19107. They have not only sent funds into South Vietnam but have, in defiance of the law, taken money and medical supplies into North Vietnam.

14. **Opinion polls.** This can work on both the campus and in the community. Talk to someone from a college in your area who can advise you on how to set up an honest, objective opinion poll. Take the poll, pass along the results to the local paper. When you are taking the poll, if you find a peace-oriented person you should—*after* you have polled him—leave material on Vietnam with him and try to interest him in the community peace group.

15. **Community vigils.** In well over a hundred communities across the country there are weekly vigils for peace. Quietly, without chants or fierce slogans, men and women and students stand for an hour or so in a public place, in sun or snow, reaching out with the power of silence to make their fellow citizens aware of Vietnam. For full information on how to organize such vigils, and for a list of places where they are now being held, write: Charles Hubbell, 1060 Randolf Road, Santa Barbara, California 93105.

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16. **Community ads.** As efforts continue to stifle dissent, your local group may find it wise to get as broad a sector of the community as possible to sign a public ad urging an end of the war. The best defense against a rise of McCarthyism is to *increase* open public opposition to the war.

17. **Visit your Congressmen.** Letters are good—but visits are *much* better. From time to time your Senators and your Congressmen come home to mend fences. Organize a delegation, ask for an appointment, and talk with your representatives.

18. **Direct action against war production.** If you are a minister, a priest or a rabbi, you should consider the impact on public opinion if you, and other religious leaders, were to go to a plant that manufactures napalm or other war material to block the entrance, nonviolently but firmly, and accept arrest.

19. **Organizing draft resistance.**

a If you are over draft age you can identify with those now refusing military service by signing a "statement of complicity" which might make you liable to arrest. A number of prominent Americans have joined in signing such a statement. Write us for a copy. Men should know that if they were born anytime after October 1, 1922, they are required by law to have draft cards. That means that many men over 35 can join directly in draft card burnings.

b Get information on the C.O. position to young men. Run one of the WRL ads in your community or your campus paper. (Write us for sample layouts.) Set up a C.O. counselling service in your area. Get copies of "Uptight With The Draft?" into the hands of college students. ("Uptight" is 10c, $5 per 100.)

c Reach High School students. Urge that guidance counsellors in the High Schools make available information on Conscientious Objection as well as on the military services. Organize a "draft caravan" to reach all High Schools in your area. (In New York City *all* public High Schools were reached on the same day in all five boroughs—the various peace groups cooperated in setting up literature tables at every school. Write us for a memo on that project—it should be done in every city in the country.)

d Men of draft age can resist war by filing application for the C.O. position. Send us $1 for your copy of *Handbook for C.O.'s*. You may want to take a more absolute position toward the draft, refusing to register, renouncing your 2-S deferment, returning your draft card or burning it, etc. The WRL supports the position of absolute resistance just as firmly as we support those who register as C.O.'s.

e Anyone of any age can carry the protest against the draft to the doors of the induction centers by physically blocking those doors. How dramatic it would be if white-haired, middle class grandmothers, whose grandsons were safely exempt from the draft through college deferments,

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were to lead these sit-ins, saying, in effect, that "even though our grandsons are safe from the draft, we will not allow you, without first arresting us, to take another Negro or white boy out of our slums and ghettoes, against his will, and for the purpose of waging this war."

ALSO

Send 25c for five more copies of *this* pamphlet. Mail or give them to five friends who are already committed to the peace movement and who might find these suggestions useful.

SOME FINAL NOTES

Among various "guides" to effective peace action we recommend Arthur Waskow's excellent handbook "The Worried Man's Guide to World Peace," $1.25—from us. This is one of many helpful books available from us. If you don't have a copy of the WRL literature list, write for one. **Keep informed. Keep cool. Keep in touch.**

We think you should see *WIN* magazine, published every other week by the New York Workshop in Nonviolence. $5 for one year, 5 Beekman Street, New York 10038.

Other publications of value include the British pacifist weekly, *Peace News*—a trial subscription for six weeks is just $1, from its North American office, 160 N. 15th Street, Philadelphia, Pa. 19102. *Fellowship* is published by the Fellowship of Reconciliation and presents the religious pacifist view. A monthly, $4 a year, from the FoR, Box 271, Nyack, New York 10960. *Sanity* gives the peace news from Canada, write for a sample copy to 3837 St. Lawrence Blvd., Montreal 18, Quebec. And *Liberation,* an independent monthly, $5 a year, from 5 Beekman Street New York City 10038.

SPECIAL CONTEST ANYONE CAN ENTER

FIRST PRIZE—PEACE!

Let us have your own suggestions on how individuals can act for peace, and on projects local groups can carry out. The best will be carried in *WIN* magazine.

Issued by the
WAR RESISTERS LEAGUE
5 Beekman Street, New York 10038

Northern California: 584 Page Street, San Francisco, Cal. 94117
Southern California: 1046 N. Sweetzer, Los Angeles, Cal. 90069
Monterey, California:
c/o 365 Spruce Street, Pacific Grove, Cal. 93940
Atlanta Workshop in Nonviolence:
Post Office Box 7477, Atlanta, Georgia 30309
Puerto Rico: c/o Alfred Kuenzli, Post Office Box 22393
University of Puerto Rico, Rio Piedras, P.R. 00931
New York Workshop in Nonviolence:
5 Beekman Street, New York 10038

June 1967—15M

Drawings by Mark Morris
Igal Roodenko *printer* New York

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WAR IS A CRIME AGAINST HUMANITY
I, THEREFORE, AM DETERMINED NOT
TO SUPPORT ANY KIND OF WAR,
INTERNATIONAL OR CIVIL, AND TO
STRIVE FOR THE REMOVAL OF ALL
CAUSES OF WAR.

I support this statement and
wish to enroll as a member of
the War Resisters League.

signed _____

Without obligation, please
enter my name on the League's
mailing list.

_____

I would like to work:

__with the Tax Protest Com.
__with the C.O. committee
__as WRL campus represent-
ative
__ as WRL representative
in my local community
__in the office
__leafletting
__on the WRL newsletter

I attend _____school.

Name _____

Address _____

_____

Phone _____

Donations are always needed.
Could you give $_____?

War Resisters League - L.A.
1046 N. Sweetzer
Los Angeles, Calif 90069
OL 4 4491

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UPTIGHT WITH THE DRAFT?

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BETTER JAIL THAN DRAFT? PERHAPS, HERSHEY SAYS

NEW HAVEN, Oct. 3 (AP) —Lieut. Gen. Lewis B. Hershey, director of the Selective Service, conceded tonight that he would "rather go to jail" than perform military service if he found it morally impossible to accept the nation's policies.

He made the statement in reply to a question from one of more than 500 persons in the Yale Law School auditorium here. He had spoken briefly on the draft system and his role as administrator.

The hypothetical question was: What would he do if he were of draft age and found he would be forced to perform military acts he "found morally impossible to support."

General Hershey responded that "in order to maintain your dignity, you'd have to go to the penitentiary."

He added that he felt sorry for anyone in such a position. "He is in a society he can't condone, but how is he going to return what he has gained from that society," he said.

(*N.Y. Times*)

THE DRAFT IS ROUGH—BUT SO IS LIFE

The Draft is rough. The army is a hell of a place to spend two years of your life. When you get out, your girl friend may be married to someone else. Your job may be gone or your education may have been interrupted at a crucial point. You might even get killed in Vietnam. Yes, the draft is rough.

But so is life. You can screw up a marriage or lose a girl friend without any help from the draft. And you could get killed crossing the street. Because life is like that.

THE REAL QUESTIONS

You may be inconvenienced or hurt by the draft but there are some questions that should bother every man of draft age more than the "inconvenience" of military service:

. . . Do you think the war in Vietnam is right?

. . . Do you think the United States should be there?

. . . Are you willing or even eager to do your part in the killing?

If so, you don't have to wait to be drafted. There are recruiting offices open in every city in the country. You can throw this pamphlet away or read it just for laughs.

But if you think this war is wrong, if you think *napalm* is dirtier and more obscene than the four letter words that got Lenny Bruce busted, then you have problems. We aren't going to argue the case against the U.S. in Vietnam. You've got eyes and ears. You've read the papers, seen the TV reports, and probably been to a Teach-In. You have had the facts and you have to make the decision. And if, after looking and listening and thinking, you feel you are *really* against the war, you have serious problems.

You have serious problems because the chances are that, sooner or later, you are going to get an induction notice. (Unless you are a top-ranking student—which is another problem we'll come to.) The question is what you do when you get that notice. Do you decide your opposition to killing Vietnamese is no deeper than a picket line, a bumper sticker, a hippy peace button? Or do you think that when the induction notice comes your answer to this war will still be NO? When you are up against it, will you make love or make war?

ISN'T THERE AN EASY WAY OUT?

WHAT ABOUT 2-S?—So you have a 2-S and plan to beg or borrow the money to get your B.A., M.A., and Ph.D., hoping by then the war will have gone away. They are handing out deferments to students. Why shouldn't you take one?

We think 2-S deferments should be abolished because they make it possible for any rich kid to stay out of the army. Which means poor kids do the fighting, the killing—and the

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dying. If the government insists on a draft there should be no special privileges for any economic group. Don't think it is your brains that win you the 2-S. There are a lot of sharp guys being blown to bits in Vietnam because their parents didn't have the money or the cultural background to get their kids into college. (And even if the exemption were on the basis of brains alone why should the bright live and the dull die?) If you apply for a 2-S you have to face up to the fact you are taking a special privilege.

WHAT ABOUT 4-F?—If you are blind in both eyes or have lost a leg and an arm you have a 4-F and you've earned it—no sweat. But a lot of men wonder if they couldn't get out of the draft by playing "gay" with the examining psychiatrist or by finding a private psychiatrist who will give them a letter stating they will flip out if they are drafted.

If you are homosexual then, under the law, you have a right to be exempted. (We don't approve of this legal discrimination against people on the basis of their private sexual behavior—but that's the law.) But if you aren't homosexual and if you aren't sick in the head we would discourage you from pretending you are. What seems clever now may haunt you later. Friends may think it a gas that you got out by saying you were queer—but they may also start wondering if you are. If you aren't crazy and aren't a drug addict and aren't gay it is, in our view, wrong to pretend you are—for the simple reason that you will be lying.

WHAT ABOUT CANADA?—Canada is a magnificent country. It is filled with nice people. It would be a good place to settle down and raise a family. And going to Canada to escape the draft is a perfectly honorable thing to do. (If you really want to do it we'll tell you where you can get legal information on immigration.) Many of us in the U.S. have ancestors who fled Europe to escape conscription. We used to be proud that America had no conscription—proud to offer haven to those fleeing European militarism. The only catch about Canada is that you have to be sure that you want to live there for good. Once you leave the United States to flee the draft you cannot return without being subject to arrest—even after you've passed draft age and changed your citizenship.

THE HARD WAY OUT—CONFRONTATION

We want to be clear about one thing. We aren't judging any individual.

We aren't turning our backs on those who apply for 2-S or who fake a 4-F or who take off for Canada. Every man has limits and it takes a certain kind of courage to know those limits and admit you may not be strong enough to risk open confrontation with the government—and to risk prison. But we also think every man must face himself honestly. You have to live with yourself as long as you live.

That is why we urge you also to consider the hard way out —confrontation rather than evasion. Confrontation takes two forms.

1. You can declare yourself a conscientious objector, ask for "Form 150," and apply for the 1-O classification. This does not exempt you from the draft. You will be drafted—but into civilian service that is not connected with the military. You will not wear a uniform, you will not be under military control. You will have a wide choice of civilian work, like hospital work, a relief project in a slum, etc.

2. You may decide that the whole idea of conscription is wrong and to cooperate with it in any way is wrong. You may, therefore, refuse to register for the draft at all. Or, if you have already registered, you may burn your draft card or mail it back to your draft board. In any of these cases you have violated Federal law and are fairly sure to go to prison.

"CONFRONTATION IS TOO RISKY!"

Life is risky. Falling in love is one of the most dangerous things you can do. To get married is to risk being terribly hurt. To father children is to risk worry and pain. Life is a series of risks and confrontations, ending finally in the fact of death. Which is not a risk, but a sure thing. One may evade all the hard choices, get exemptions from all the serious risks, only to wake up dead one morning and realize too late that *to exist* and *to live* are two different things. If you take no risks you will suffer no pain. You will die without having lived.

"AM I A C.O. IF I OBJECT ONLY TO THIS WAR? I MIGHT HAVE FOUGHT IN WORLD WAR II"

If you object only to this war you are a C.O. The draft board probably won't agree with us—and *it* makes the decision that counts. But if you are so strongly opposed to serving in Vietnam that you are willing to go to jail rather than into the army, you should apply for C.O. classification because *you are a conscientious objector to this war*. And *this* war is the only one we are fighting right now. The C.O. may be a religious pacifist opposed to all wars and violence because of a belief in a Supreme Being. But a man who opposes fighting in *this* war for political, philosophical, or ethical reasons is *conscientiously* opposed—he *is* a conscientious objector. Do not put yourself outside the law unless you oppose any cooperation whatever with selective service.

A lot of men coming into our offices and writing us say they

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oppose the war in Vietnam and will go to jail if necessary, but they can't apply for the C.O. form because they aren't pacifists and they know they aren't pacifists because they would have fought in World War II. Most men facing the draft weren't even born when World War II *ended*. How in God's name can they be so sure *what* they would have done in 1941? Pacifists were bitterly opposed to Hitler and the anti-Semitism of the Nazis. Our own people in Germany were being jailed before the war began. But mass killing of Jews had not yet begun—nor did any sane person believe Germany would prove as utterly mad as it did. Before World War II began the situation of many Negroes in America was as bad as that of Jews in Germany. Radical pacifists asked why they should struggle violently against German racism when one out of every ten Americans lived in the special Made-in-America hell of Jim Crow. The full depravity of the Nazi regime was not factually clear until the end of the war. It is always easy to know "for sure" what you would have done in 1941 if you were born in 1947 and are looking back from the vantage point of 1967 at events more than two decades in the past.

The point we are making is that you can only resist one war at a time. History does not ask you (although the draft board tries) to take a clear stand on all events in the past and in the future. But it does force you to take some stand on events occurring now. Even those of us in an organization like the War Resisters League must be honest with ourselves and admit that while we oppose all wars and violence, we cannot know for sure what we would do in the future or what we might have done in the past if we had been alive at the time.

We may believe in absolute values, but our perception of those values and our understanding of how to implement them is always being revised. The pacifist who is arrogantly sure that he will always be loving and nonviolent may prove, in a crisis, to be murderously violent. While the man who argues that the fist and the gun is the only way to defend the things one believes in may, in a crisis, find himself so paralyzed by fear that he does nothing—or so struck by hidden compassion that he acts with greater gentleness and love than the absolute pacifist.

"BUT I WOULDN'T BE EFFECTIVE IN PRISON"

First keep in mind that many of you will get the 1-O classification if you apply for it—and prison is *not* the fate that awaits you. But it is a risk you take. When men of draft age argue they can do more out of jail than inside we agree. But you don't always have a choice. Are you more effective opposing the war if you are in the army instead of jail? Can you be effective in preaching a swinging anti-war message to slum kids if they know you have a 2-S deferment? How effective would anti-war leaders be with the general public if they had faked a 4-F? And how effective do you think you can be in changing U.S. policy in Vietnam if you are sitting in a coffee shop in Toronto?

And sometimes prison is more "effective" than anyone would guess. Did Rosa Parks sit down in the white section of a bus in Montgomery, Alabama, in 1955 because a central committee or a session of participatory democracy had worked it out that the decisive moment had arrived and her single action would spark a revolution? Or did she sit down because she was tired and angry and tired of being angry and didn't care if she did go to jail just because she was human, and taking that risk was part of being human? How effective did Jesus feel at Calvary? Or Marx in the British Museum? No one knows when the "effective" instant comes, or which act will change history. All we can know for sure is that if you are jailed, at least your family and friends must face that fact. Sometimes history is changed in great sweeps but more often it is changed by the sum total of apparently ineffectual and almost meaningless existential actions out of which a new culture is built and from which new values arise.

The issue we pose isn't whether confronting the draft is effective but whether it is *right*. That is an old-fashioned concept. An ancient concept. And it is why you have bothered to read this far. Because you are already unhappy with a society that is more concerned with what is effective than with what is right. You are sick of a society that kills people because that is the most effective way to protect its property. You are angry with the lies of the government. You want decency in high places. But always and everywhere decency in high places starts with decency in low places. Integrity and truth don't filter down from above—they percolate up from below. You want a society that is loving, decent, and has integrity? Then pay the dues.

"I AM NOT CLEAR ENOUGH ABOUT MY OWN MOTIVES TO MAKE SO MAJOR A DECISION"

That's the trouble with life. We are always being forced into decisions without ever *really being sure* of our motives. Did you join the local chapter of SDS (or SNCC or SPU or CORE or the DuBois Clubs or whatever) because you were a dedicated New Leftist or because you liked one of the girls who already belonged? Did you major in English because you knew you'd flunk in Physics? Did you major in Physics because of a love of abstract science or because you thought you'd earn more than an English professor? If you apply for a C.O. classification you will wonder if it wasn't partly because you were afraid of being killed in Vietnam. (Yes, and if you accept service you will wonder if it might be because

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you wanted to prove to yourself you are not a coward, and not because you really backed Johnson's policy.) Being honest means being honest with yourself. And that means the courage and common sense to know that all actions are always taken from mixed motives. Life forces us to make decisions before we are ready. All we can do is to remain honest enough to change our minds if we become convinced we were wrong in our decisions.

"I DON'T KNOW ENOUGH ABOUT THIS WAR TO BUCK THE GOVERNMENT"

"I mean, taking part in a Teach-in is okay but to refuse to serve in the army is serious stuff—I just don't know enough of the facts to hit the government head on like that." Wouldn't it make more sense to say you didn't know enough about this war to *support* the government? Because what is involved in Vietnam is the killing of a great many people. Have you spent a year or two in full time study of the Vietnamese, their language and history? Have you really studied the origins of this war and the way it is being fought? Until you have done these things do you have the right to serve in Vietnam? In law the prosecutor must establish beyond *any reasonable doubt* that the man accused of a crime is, in fact, guilty. No man can be executed for murder under our laws unless his crime has been that clearly established. Do you believe Johnson has proved his case "beyond reasonable doubt"? If not, do you have the right to act as an agent of execution for the government by bombing, burning, and gassing Vietnamese? When you face something as serious as war *you have no moral right* to let the State do your thinking for you. We submit that unless you are at least reasonably certain this war is right you are under a moral obligation to face prison, if necessary, rather than to participate in it.

IN SHORT, WE THINK YOU MAY BE A C.O.
...EVEN IF YOU DON'T BELIEVE IN GOD
...EVEN IF YOU AREN'T A PACIFIST

If you oppose the war in Vietnam on political, moral, or religious grounds, then you are a conscientious objector to that war and should apply for a C.O. classification. You may not get that classification. The government may rule your motives are not those which justify such a classification. You may finally have to serve time in prison. But let the government make that decision. Do not yield up your rights without a struggle.

The atheist is no less conscientious than the man who believes in God. The political objector no less sincere than the religious objector. The "this-war-only" objector no less entitled to C.O. classification than the absolute pacifist. The only war objector who should not ask for a C.O. classification is the man who is deeply convinced that the whole structure of conscription is immoral. Some W.R.L. members take that absolute position and some do not. Some of us went to prison because we refused to register at all, some of us went to prison because we were refused a C.O. classification, and most of us did not go to prison because we asked for and were given a C.O. classification. All of us will support you in your decision whether it is total non-cooperation or a request for a C.O. classification.

YOU MAY EVEN BE A PACIFIST

Pacifists do not spring "full blown from the mind of God" (or man). Pacifists are people who began by opposing a particular violence because it was unjust and came to feel violence itself was unjust and impractical. As you look upon the war in Vietnam you may come to feel that not only is the American role there so criminal that you cannot support it, but that the National Liberation Front, no matter how much you respect its courage and goal of national independence, might find some better way of struggle than a method which kills at least twice as many civilians as NLF combatants. Violence often sounds romantic at a distance. But every war produces a new crop of soldiers who, having seen the face of war, having looked upon the bodies of their own and the enemy dead and the weary confusion of the conquered, have felt they could not again take part in such violence, no matter how "justified." In a violent struggle too many innocent people die. The pacifist is not afraid of conflict—but he is seeking new methods of conflict in which fewer of the innocent must suffer so terribly.

Nonviolence is experimental. Pacifism is an adventure in building a new society. The building of a society that is honest and decent and gentle does not begin with absolute answers and fanatic conviction. It begins with humility and a search for answers to the specific problems we confront today. One resists war in general by resisting this patricular war now. God knows, the pacifist isn't a saint. At least not the ones in the War Resisters League. We aren't even, all of us, certain we are pacifists. We *are* certain we are engaged in an experiment. The experiment may fail—or we may fail the experiment. But we take that risk. We invite you to share that risk with us. We invite you into membership in the War Resisters League.

THE RISK IS YOURS

We will not urge or advise or counsel you to confront the draft—only to consider doing so. We do not hesitate because such direct counsel may be violating Federal law but be-

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cause we are not going to cheer on someone else to take actions for which *they*—not we—may have to suffer. If you make a decision which lands you in jail, you will have to do your time yourself—we can't do it for you. Your decision about military service is one you are going to have to make by yourself. Which may sound obvious, but isn't. Because if you make no decision and "let yourself" be drafted, *that is a decision too.* A decision you are going to have to live with, just as you would have to live with the decision of becoming a C.O.

We aren't going to make it easier for you to take a C.O. position by saying that everybody is doing it. The number of war resisters and draft confronters is increasing but *most* men *aren't* fighting the draft. Most men are yielding to the draft or they are evading it. Only a handful—a few thousands—are confronting the draft. Confrontation is a rough scene. If you decide to confront the draft rather than evade it we would be honored to be associated with you.

DAVID MCREYNOLDS
WRL *Field Secretary*

Men who are considering draft confrontation may find the following literature helpful:

Draft Packet. This includes "The Handbook for C.O.'s"—over a hundred pages of essential information; the draft pamphlet issued by Students for a Democratic Society; a copy of A. J. Muste's "Of Holy Disobedience"; and other leaflets and material on the Draft. $1.

Quiet Battle, edited by Mulford Q. Sibley. Writings on the Theory and Practice of Nonviolent Resistance, brilliantly selected and edited. 390 pages, paperback, $1.45.

Nonviolence in America: A Documentary History. Edited by Staughton Lynd. A new work, basing itself entirely on the American experience, from pre-Revolutionary times to the present. 535 pages, paperback, $3.45.

An Autobiography, Mohandas K. Gandhi. Gandhi's famous and very personal story of his "experiments with truth." A book that has had a profound impact on the 20th century. 528 pages, paperback, $2.75.

These items can be ordered from the War Resisters League. In addition, we have men trained in C.O. counseling in most major cities. If you want to discuss this problem, ask us for the name and address of the counsellor in your area.

December 1966—15M; February 1967—25M; May 1967—20M

You may also want to contact one of the following:

American Friends Service Committee (Quakers)
160 North 15th St., Philadelphia, Pa. 19102
Brethren Service Commission
1451 Dundee Ave., Elgin, Illinois 60120
Catholic Peace Fellowship
5 Beekman Street, New York, N.Y. 10038
Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors
2006 Walnut Street, Philadelphia, Pa. 19103
Committee for Non-Violent Action
5 Beekman Street, New York, N.Y. 10038
Fellowship of Reconciliation
Box 271, Nyack, New York 10960
Jewish Peace Fellowship
Box 271, Nyack, New York 10960
Mennonite Central Committee
21 South 12th Street, Akron, Pa. 17501
National Service Board for Religious Objectors
15th and New York Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20005
Peacemakers
10208 Sylvan Avenue, Cincinnati, Ohio 45241
Student Peace Union
5 Beekman Street, New York, N.Y. 10038
Students for a Democratic Society
1608 W. Madison, Chicago, Ill. 60612

War Resisters League
Room 1025, 5 Beekman Street
New York, N.Y. 10038

War is a crime against humanity. I therefore am determined not to support any kind of war, international or civil, and to strive for the removal of all the causes of war.

SIGNATURE _____

☐ I support this statement and wish to enroll as a member of the WAR RESISTERS LEAGUE.

☐ Without obligation, please send me more information about the League's activities.

NAME .....

ADDRESS .....

CITY..... STATE..... ZIP.....

SCHOOL .....

OCCUPATION .....

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WAR RESISTERS LEAGUE

affiliated with the
War Resisters' International

National Offices:
5 Beekman Street, New York 10038

Northern California:
584 Page Street, San Francisco 94117

Southern California:
1046 N. Sweetzer, Los Angeles 90069

New York Workshop in Nonviolence
5 Beekman Street, New York 10038

10c—12/$1; 100/$5

98

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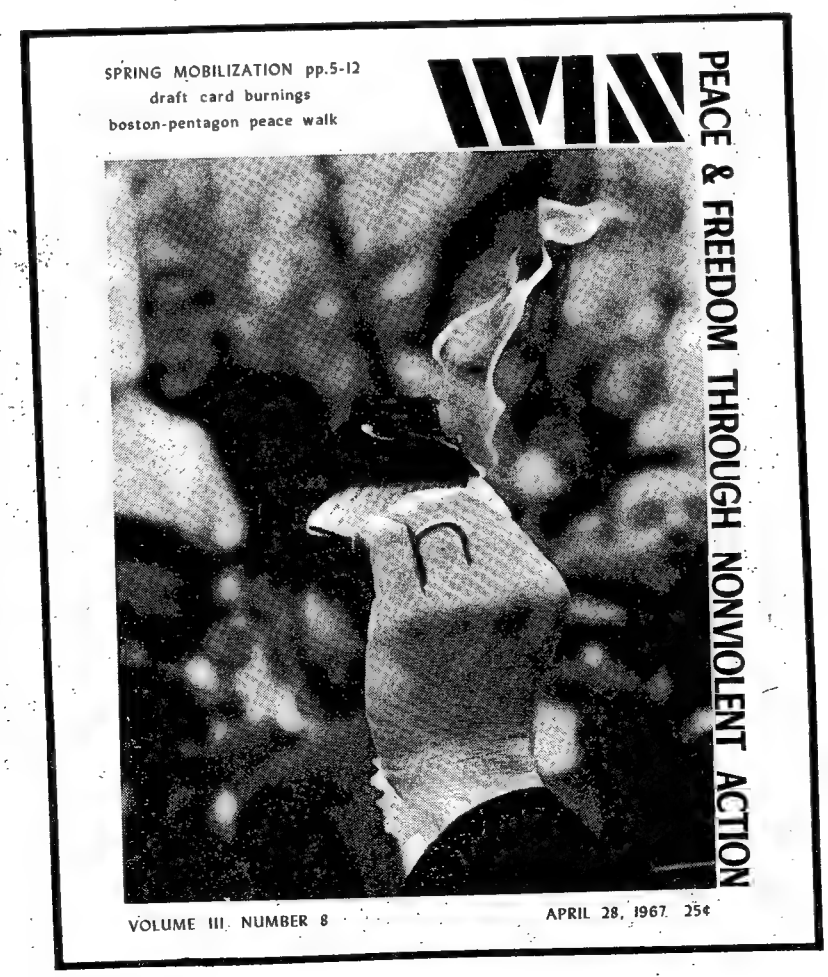
What have you been missing?
find Out iN
WIN
PEACE AND FREEDOM THRU NONVIOLENT ACTION
the biweekly magazine of the peace & nonviolence movement in America

So you don't believe war brings peace
tyranny means democracy
hate is love.
A lot of people don't.
But what are you doing about it?
And what are they doing about it?
That's what you'll find out in WIN.
Turn the page. Read on.



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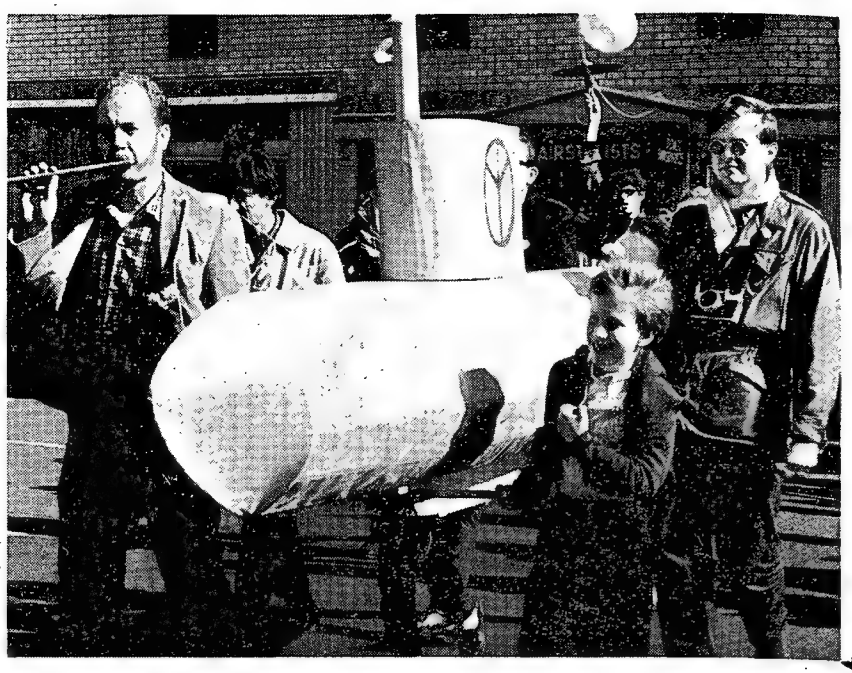


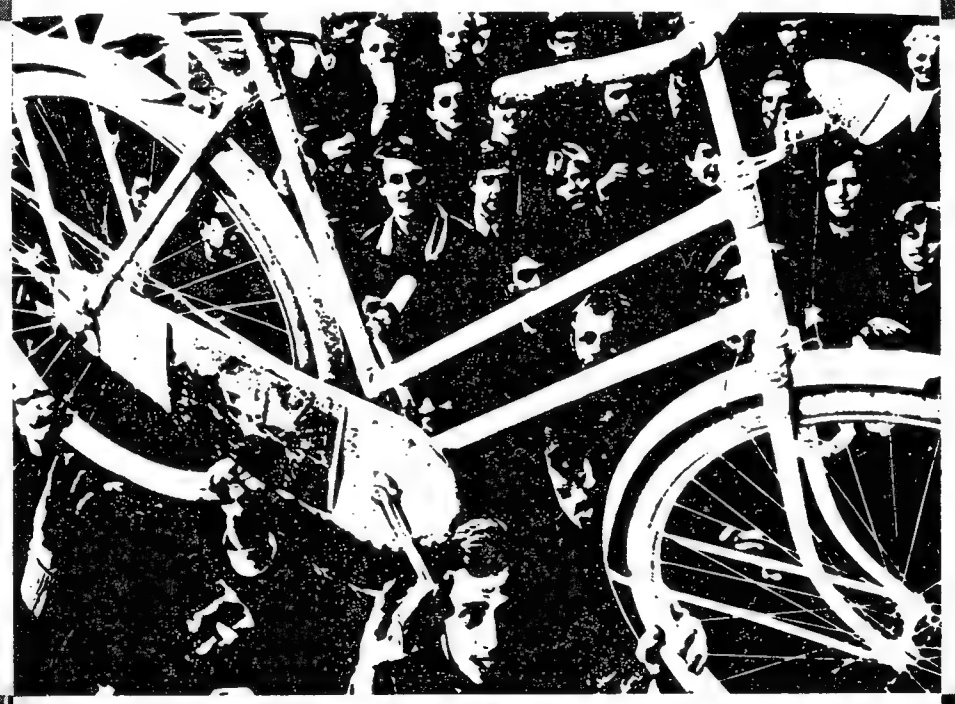
—photo by Don Auclair

What do flying kites, white bicycles, balloon happenings, yellow submarines, manifestivities, Gentle Thursdays, and flower power have to do with peace?

WIN readers know. Do you?

WIN readers also know about burning, mutilating, and eating draft cards; about draft resistance and noncooperation; about income tax refusal, telephone tax refusal; about all kinds of civil disobedience and other creative forms of nonviolent direct action.

WIN is a twice-monthly radical pacifist magazine of the peace movement that tells you and shows you, in words and photographs, what's going on—in peace action across America. On picket lines, at demonstrations, at meetings and conferences, whenever civil disobedience is committed. Wherever people walk, dance, march, sit, stand, laugh, cry, talk, and sing for peace and freedom. From Duluth and Phoenix, the Bay Area, Iowa, and New York. Peace action reported by people who create it.

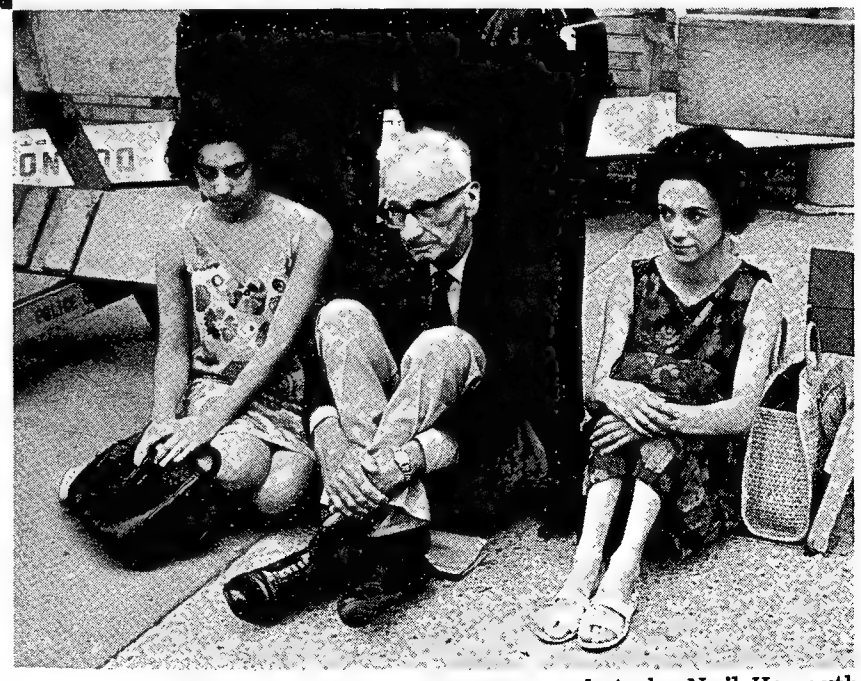


—photo by Bill Wingell

WIN is full of choice tidbits of information essential to any peace activist. There are reviews of books and movies on war and peace, in Vietnam and around the world. New and old peace actionists debate the old and new tactics, radical versus reformist politics, personalities ranging from Gandhi to Freud to Malcolm X, the relationship of nonviolence to revolution and civil rights.

—UPI photo

WIN is a "how to" guide to better, more effective demonstrations. Advice for the novice protester. Discussion and criticism for the advanced resister. How to mount demonstrations. Observations on leafleting and fasts. Ideas about picketing, vigiling, police relations, courtroom strategy, jailhouse etiquette. All about nonviolent direct action, what works and what doesn't work—exploring nonviolent tactics as a means to change in a violent world.



—photo by Neil Haworth

Finally, a pacifist journal put out by the front (picket) line participants in peace action. —Jim Peck

Your publication is an inspiration to a novice in the peace movement. The accounts of various demonstrations are truly heartwarming—encourage me not to lose hope in my city of apathy!

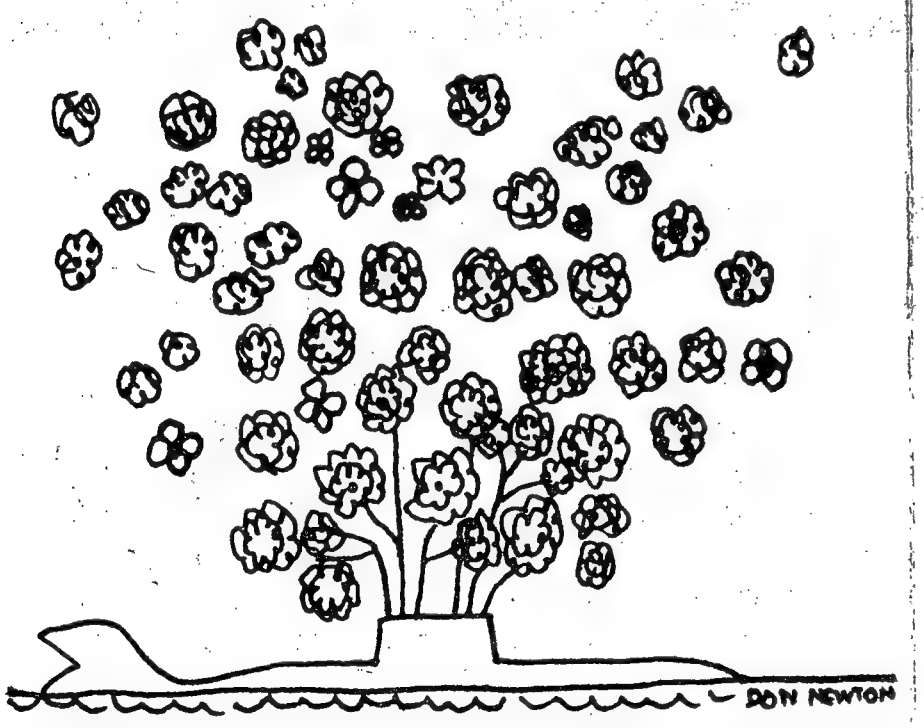
—Mary Hodsdon
Wilmington, Delaware

Your magazine continues to be a wellspring of creative and challenging pacifist thought in a very arid desert made dry by the narrowness and patness of the usual, more formalistic approaches to questions of war and peace.

—Dan Raphael
Seattle, Washington

Joy, affirmation, chaos, flowers to the enemy. Political nonviolence, psychedelic pacifism, terror to the Old Left. WIN is all these and more. Good poetry and bad. Bad articles and brilliant. Pushing, provocative, singing. Read WIN and dance in the streets.

—David McReynolds



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That's what you'll find out in WIN.
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SUGGESTION SHEET FOR LOCAL WORK ON RESISTANCE TO THE DRAFT

1. On the reverse side of this sheet are three possible layouts for display ads. (The largest of the three ads can also be cut off and used, on bulletin boards, as a small poster.) We urge you to place one or more of these ads in the nearest college paper. The cost of such ads is not great, particularly if shared among several people. Some cities also have liberal "community papers" (such as the Village Voice, the Los Angeles Free Press, etc.) which reach a youthful audience.

   The ads have been set in type and are ready to use as is in papers which use a photo-offset process. The three suggested ads may also spark different and better ads which you can work out and which meet the special needs of your community. If there is a local peace group in your community, its name and address should be carried at the bottom of the ad, in addition to or in place of the War Resisters League name and address.

2. Students should consider placing a "personal" ad in the classified ad section of the off-beat community papers -- ads which would announce their personal decision not to fight in Vietnam. A rash of such brief, inexpensive, personal ads would let other young men know there were more C.O.'s and war resisters around than they had realized.

3. The War Resisters League has prepared a forceful booklet urging draft confrontation rather than draft evasion. "Up Tight With the Draft?" is 10¢ each, 12 for $1, 100 for $5. Order a quantity of these now and get them out to students.

4. In every community, particularly in a college community, some kind of C.O. counseling service should be set up and publicized. There may already be a trained C.O. counselor in your community. To find out if there is, or to find out how a counselor can be trained, please get in touch with the Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors, 2006 Walnut Street, Philadelphia, Pa. 19103.

5. Community peace groups should realize that most young men are not even aware of the legal provisions for conscientious objectors. They have a right to have this information. Military spokesmen do get onto high school campuses to let students know about the various branches of military service. We should ask for "equal time" to explain before high school assemblies the full range of draft choices. If necessary peace groups can set up "caravans" that will be stationed outside of the high schools and provide information and literature. In some cases the names and addresses of graduating high school seniors can be obtained and letters can be sent to all of them, giving them information on the C.O. position. One of the most effective leaflets for high school students is "The Draft Law and Your Choices," published by the Friends Peace Committee, 1520 Race Street, Philadelphia, Pa. 19102.

Issued by: War Resisters League, 5 Beekman Street, New York, N.Y. 10038

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If you are of draft age . . .

If you oppose the war in Vietnam . . .

DON'T DODGE THE DRAFT
OPPOSE IT!

If you think torture and terrorism are anti-human, no matter who does them, or for what purpose, or on which side . . .

If you believe the U.S. actions in Vietnam are not only illegal but are immoral . . .

If you question the right of **any** government ("progressive" or "reactionary") to conscript a man against his will for a war which he does not support . . .

Then, even if you are not an "absolute" pacifist, or religious, you conscientiously object to the war in Vietnam. War objectors are often able to win legal exemption from military service on grounds of conscience. Some must risk prison. For information on your legal rights and the program of the War Resisters League, write:

WAR RESISTERS LEAGUE
5 Beekman Street, New York City 10038

Serve Your Country
Don't Go to Vietnam

If your government is waging a criminal war do you serve the country best by cooperating?

Who served Germany best under Hitler? Those who obeyed orders and helped kill the Jews? Or the handful of Germans who chose prison and even death rather than cooperate?

Who upheld Russian honor in 1956? Those who obeyed orders, marched into Hungary, and shot down students and workers—or those troops who refused to fire?

Who serves America best today?

This nation wasn't built on "consensus" or "obedience" to the State. It was built by heretical Baptists, irresponsible Quakers, headstrong Puritans, freedom-loving slaves, stubborn abolitionists—by people who believed they should obey their conscience rather than the State.

Serve your country. Reaffirm the power of the individual conscience against the State. The war in Vietnam is a crime. Do not cooperate.

WAR RESISTERS LEAGUE
5 Beekman Street, New York City 10038

Are you man enough to

Make Love Not War

Does the power to hate, to fear, and to kill prove you are a man? Does wearing a uniform make you virile? Does it really take courage to submit to the draft?

Are you a coward if you take the risk of love—of trying to love not just one person, but all persons? (Even LBJ?) Are you a coward if you say flowers are more important than napalm? Are you a coward if you think making babies is a more worthy task for a man than killing children?

Are you a coward if you say NO to the draft even at the risk of prison?

For information on pacifism, nonviolence, and your legal right to apply for Conscientious Objector *status (even if you don't consider yourself a pacifist and even if you don't believe in God) write:*

WAR RESISTERS LEAGUE
5 Beekman Street, New York City 10038

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WELCOME TO EUROPE

greetings to american tourists

Those of us distributing these leaflets welcome you personally to our city. If there are any questions which you have, we will be glad to answer them. We hope you enjoy your stay in our city.

Because we appreciate the history and traditions of the United States, we speak to you as friends of what your country has stood for in the past. We are not "anti-Americans", nor are we "Communists".

It is because we have respected the United States in the past that we must let you know how deeply we – and most of our fellow citizens here – oppose U.S. policy in Vietnam. It is very hard for us to see the difference between the role of Nazi troops supporting Quisling governments during World War II or Communist troops supporting the puppet government in Hungary in 1956 and the role of American troops today in supporting the government of Saigon.

It is because we believe the American people – and individual Americans like yourself – do have a conscience that we remind you that it is fundamentally wrong for your government to interfere in the affairs of smaller nations, and to use napalm bombs, gas, and mass bombing of civilian areas in an effort to "win". There is nothing which the Vietnamese Communists could possibly do to the people in Vietnam which could match the horror of what the Johnson Administration has already done.

We watched, as Europeans, with horror the massive silence of "good" Germans toward the evils of Hitlerism. Now we watch with the same horror the willingness of most of the American public to let the President of your nation engage in a war which violates the Charter of the United Nations and the Geneva Accords of 1954.

We cannot, of course, direct American policy. But we can tell you that Europe does not support U.S. actions in Vietnam. We are nauseated by them.

And we can ask you a simple question: is the use of gas, of torture, of civilian bombing evil only when it is done by Nazis or by Communists? Can you expect us to judge the American government more gently or by a different standard than the standard we used in judging the Russians in Hungary or the Germans when they invaded our countries?

We would not be acting as friends of what America has stood for in the past if we did not tell you that the vast reservoir of good will which your country once had in Europe has now been almost exhausted by the actions of your country in Vietnam. We can tell you that it would now be very difficult for your President to visit any nation in Western Europe without stirring massive protests against his appearance.

We do not ask that Americans do things which will make them "popular" with the world. We ask only that you do things that will make it possible for you to live with your own consciences. Is that possible for you – personally – in regard to Vietnam?

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If you believe the United States should withdraw its force from South Vietnam, and if you want to take an active part in the peace movement, contact one of the organizations listed. And if you are of draft age -- or if you are already in the armed forces -- and do not feel you can, in conscience, serve in Vietnam, you can get help in applying for classification as a Conscientious Objector to this war by contacting any of these organizations.

Catholic Worker	175 Chrystie St., New York, N.Y. 10002
Catholic Peace Fellowship	5 Beekman St., New York, N. Y. 10038
Committee for Nonviolent Action	" " "
N. Y. Workshop in Nonviolence	" " "
Student Peace Union	" " "
War Resisters League	" " "

Or phone CO 7-4592 or BA 7-5535

For information on Vietnam read:

THE POLITICS OF ESCALATION IN VIETNAM. Paperback, 160 pages, 60¢. Special Foreword by Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. Imperative and documented material showing insincerity of Johnson's "peace offensive."

POEMS OF WAR RESISTANCE -- 1967 PEACE CALENDAR. A beautiful selection of peace poems by American poets. Considered by one poet "the finest collection of anti-war poetry now available in English." Ben Shahn has drawn a special cover for the Calendar. 128 pages, half of them devoted to poems, the other half are date pages. $1.50. Ideal as a Christmas gift for those who would appreciate something unique.

WIN Magazine. Very hip, controversial, biweekly pacifist magazine. Published by New York Workshop in Nonviolence. If you are looking for the unusual and challenging this is it. $3.00 for a six months' subscription.

For these and other items on Vietnam and the peace movement write Room 1025, 5 Beekman Street, New York, N.Y. 10038.

Issued by the above organizations as a public service.

When Johnson flew to the Manila Conference last October he tried to give the impression that Asia supported our war in Vietnam. That is simply not true. The Asian nations that met with Johnson in Manila represent less than 5% of the population of Asia. The Asian nations that oppose us and were not at Manila include the non-Communist nations of India, Japan, Indonesia, Pakistan, Burma, Cambodia, Ceylon, Malaysia, and Laos.

But it isn't just Asia that opposes Johnson's war. Almost every West European nation is opposed to what is being done in Vietnam. The British Government has condemned our escalation of the bombing. The Swedish Government refuses to sell us military equipment. The French Government urges us to withdraw our troops. The Italians are sending medical aid to North Vietnam. The Swiss are flying Vietnamese children into Switzerland -- children who have been injured by our fire bombings -- for special medical care. A majority of Germans, as shown by the latest opinion poll, strongly oppose our policy. Public opinion in Europe is so bitter toward Johnson's actions that in several West European nations there are special police guards outside U.S. embassies and consulates.

When Johnson says most of the Free World supports our war in Vietnam, he is not telling the truth. Most of the Free World opposes our actions. The Pope has urged us to follow the path to peace outlined by U Thant, United Nations General Secretary. The World Council of Churches has urged us to end this war now. Today, Dec. 10th, is United Nations Human Rights Day. All over the world, today, there are silent vigils, demonstrations, and public meetings to protest the U.S. war in Vietnam and to appeal to the conscience of the American people -- to our conscience -- to stop Johnson now.

But we don't need to write a leaflet. A leaflet has already been written in Europe and is being distributed to American tourists there. Most of us don't get a chance to travel to Europe, but we think you will want to see what Europeans are saying to Americans they meet. We reprint -- word for word -- the full text of a leaflet being given out to American citizens traveling in Europe.

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If you believe the United States should withdraw its force from South Vietnam, and if you want to take an active part in the peace movement, contact one of the organizations listed. And if you are of draft age -- or if you are already in the armed forces -- and do not feel you can, in conscience, serve in Vietnam, you can get help in applying for classification as a Conscientious Objector to this war by contacting any of these organizations.

Catholic Worker	175 Chrystie St., New York, N.Y. 10002
Catholic Peace Fellowship	5 Beekman St., New York, N.Y. 10038
Committee for Nonviolent Action	" " "
N. Y. Workshop in Nonviolence	" " "
Student Peace Union	" " "
War Resisters League	" " "

Or phone CO 7-4592 or BA 7-5535

For information on Vietnam read:

THE POLITICS OF ESCALATION IN VIETNAM. Paperback, 160 pages, 60¢. Special Foreword by Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. Imperative and documented material showing insincerity of Johnson's "peace offensive."

POEMS OF WAR RESISTANCE -- 1967 PEACE CALENDAR. A beautiful selection of peace poems by American poets. Considered by one poet "the finest collection of anti-war poetry now available in English." Ben Shahn has drawn a special cover for the Calendar. 128 pages, half of them devoted to poems, the other half are date pages. $1.50. Ideal as a Christmas gift for those who would appreciate something unique.

WIN Magazine. Very hip, controversial, biweekly pacifist magazine. Published by New York Workshop in Nonviolence. If you are looking for the unusual and challenging this is it. $3.00 for a six months' subscription.

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(Excerpted from THE NEW YORK TIMES MAGAZINE for Oct. 9, 1966)

Not a Dove, But No Longer a Hawk

A correspondent who has reported on Vietnam since 1962 sums up

By NEIL SHEEHAN

AMERICANS, because they are Americans, arrive in Vietnam full of enthusiasm and with the best of intentions. After a prolonged period of residence, they leave with their enthusiasm a victim of the cynicism that pervades Vietnamese life and with their good intentions lost somewhere in a paddy field. I am no exception. When I first walked across the tarmac of Saigon's Tansonnhut Airport on a warm evening in April, 1962, nervous that the customs officers might not accept the journalist's visa I had hurriedly obtained from the South Vietnamese consulate in Hong Kong, I believed in what my country was doing in Vietnam. With military and economic aid and a few thousand pilots and Army advisers, the United States was attempting to help the non-Communist Vietnamese build a viable and independent nation-state and defeat a Communist guerrilla insurgency that would subject them to a dour tyranny. This seemed to me a worthy cause and something that needed to be done if other Southeast Asian peoples were to be allowed some freedom of choice in determining their course in history. Although I often disagreed with the implementation of American policy during my first two years in Vietnam, I was in accord with its basic aims.

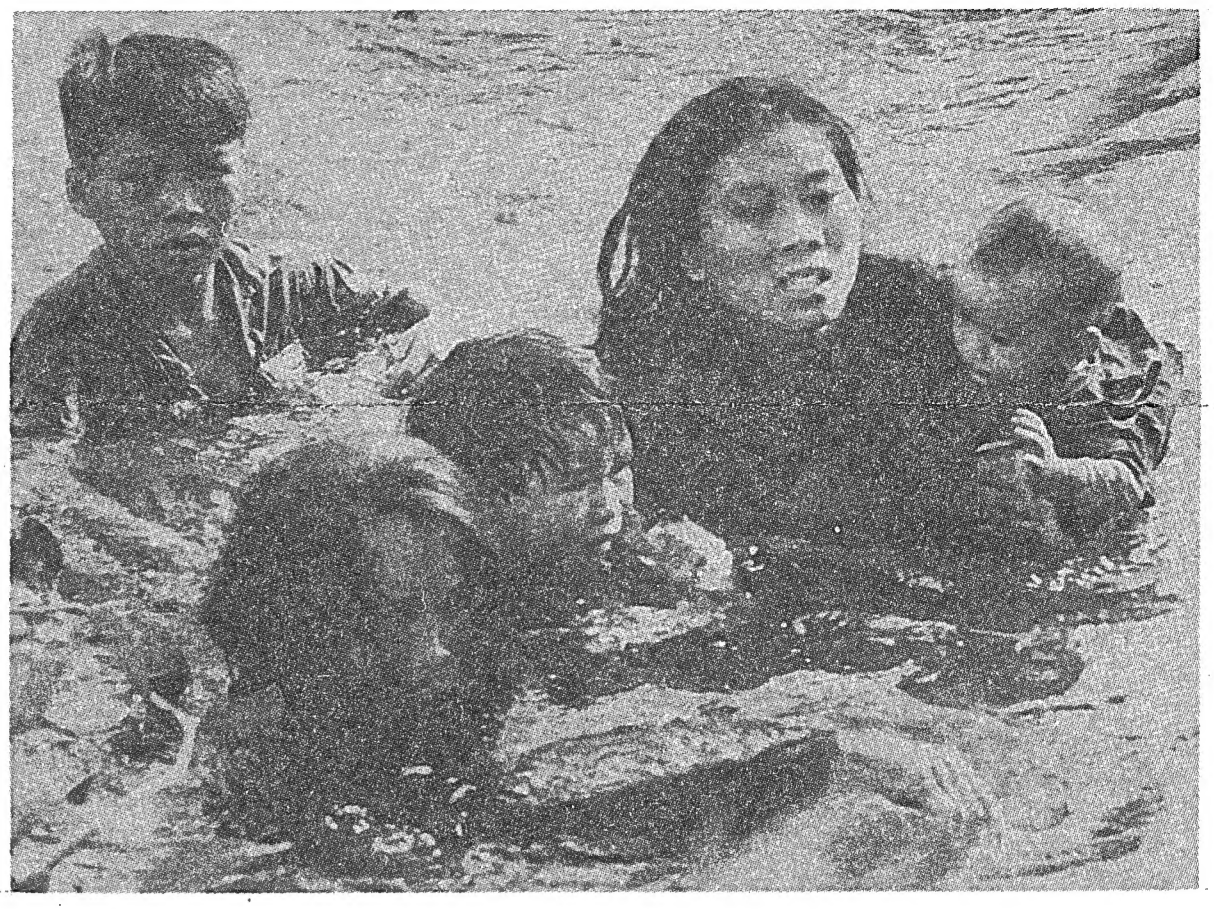
There were many disappointments those first two years, but when I left Vietnam in 1964, I was still, to use the current parlance, a hawk. I returned to Saigon in 1965 for another year. Now I have left again, and much has changed. There were 17,000 American servicemen in Vietnam at the time of my first departure and there are now 317,000 and I, while not a dove, am no longer a hawk.

If I had been wiser and could have foreseen the present consequences of that earlier and relatively small-scale American intervention in the affairs of this country, I doubt that I would have been enthusiastic during those first two years. I realize now, perhaps because this past year has impressed upon me more forcefully the realities of the war and of Vietnamese society, that I was naive in believing the non-Communist Vietnamese could defeat the Communist insurgency and build a decent and progressive social structure.

Over the 13 years since 1953, the United States has supplanted France in Vietnam. Yet among the Vietnamese themselves, the two opposing sides have changed little.

Precolonial Vietnam was administered by mandarins drawn from the merchant and land-owning families. When France colonized the country in the 19th century, much of this native aristocracy became, in effect, colonial civil servants, intermediaries between their own people and the foreigner. During the First Indochina War these Vietnamese, with a stake in the traditional society which a French presence would preserve, cooperated with France. Now the same Vietnamese, for identical reasons, cooperate with the United States.

Air Vice Marshal Nguyen Cao Ky, the current Premier of South Vietnam, was a French pilot.



VICTIMS—A South Vietnamese mother and children ford a river, fleeing an American airstrike on their village.

The Deputy Premier, Lieut. Gen. Nguyen Huu Co, and other generals in the Saigon military junta, were officers or sergeants in the French colonial forces. Their fondness for French cuisine, snappy uniforms and cocktail parties and receptions creates a pale but faithful reflection of the social round of colonial days. They are the Vietnamese who have inherited the worst of two cultures—the pretentiousness of the native mandarins and the rigidity of the French colonial officers and administrators.

In Vietnam, only the Communists represent revolution and social change, for better or worse according to a man's politics. The Communist party is the one truly national organization that permeates both North and South Vietnam. The men who lead the party today, Ho Chi Minh and the other members of the Politburo in Hanoi, directed the struggle for independence from France and in the process captured much of the deeply felt nationalism of the Vietnamese people. Perhaps because of this, the Communists, despite their brutality and deceit, remain the only Vietnamese capable of rallying millions of their countrymen to sacrifice and hardship in the name of the nation and the only group not dependent on foreign bayonets for survival.

It is the tragedy of Vietnam that what began as a war of independence from France developed, as a result of its Communist leadership, into a civil conflict. Attempts to describe the current war as a geographically based struggle between North and South Vietnam breaks down almost immediately when it is recalled that Premier Ky and several other important members of his Government are North Vietnamese by birth, who fled south after the French defeat, while Pham Van Dong, the Premier of North Vietnam, was born in the South. The war is, rather, a struggle between differing elements of the Vietnamese people as a whole.

COMMUNIST leadership of the anti-colonial movement led to the involvement of Vietnam in the larger context of the cold war and brought the intervention of the United States, first to aid the French and then to develop and support a non-Communist administration and army in the South. For its own strategic and political ends, the United States is thus protecting a non-Communist Vietnamese social structure that cannot defend itself and that perhaps does not deserve to be defended. Our responsibility for prolonging what is essentially a civil conflict may be one of the major reasons for the considerable amount of confusion, guilt and soul-searching among Americans over the Vietnam war.

An American general recently paid a strange tribute to a Vietcong guerrilla who held up an entire U.S. Army infantry company for an hour in the jungle north of Saigon. The guerrilla was the lone survivor of several Communists defending a bunker. He fired off all his own ammunition and that of his dead comrades, and hurled back at the Americans the grenades they tossed into the bunker. He was finally killed while throwing rocks in a last gesture of defiance. "If one of our men had fought like that," the general said, "he would have been awarded the Medal of Honor."

SINCE the beginning of last year, Hanoi has increased the size of its regular army contingent in the South to a total of about 47,000 men. In the face of sustained bombing of the road and rail system in the North and the Ho Chi Minh Trail through Laos, the Communists continue to infiltrate men at an estimated rate of 4,500 to 5,000 a month.

The Vietcong guerrillas have also managed steadily to expand their forces through recruitment and conscription.

The Saigon regime, on the other hand, has experienced great difficulty

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in increasing the strength of its armed forces because of a very high desertion rate. Desertions are greatest among conscripts, an indication that the average South Vietnamese feels little or no commitment to defend his own society. About 85 per cent of Saigon's armed forces are, consequently, volunteers who take up arms for pay.

From the contrast in behavior of the two sides, I can only conclude that Vietnamese will die more willingly for a regime which, though Communist, is at least genuinely Vietnamese and offers them some hope of improving their lives, than for one which is committed to the galling status quo and is the creation of Washington.

MOST non-Communist Vietnamese are incapable, because of the values of the society in which they live, of looking beyond individual and family interests. Their overwhelming concern with "me and my relatives" deprives the society of a social consciousness Americans take for granted in their own culture and fosters the corruption and nepotism that exist throughout the administration. The disease of corruption appears to be worsening in direct proportion to the burgeoning amounts of American aid

THE current social system discriminates against the poor and prevents social mobility. The mandarin families resist all efforts to change it, since it works in their favor. Although the United States has spent millions of dollars building primary schools in Vietnam, for example, it has been unable to bring about any fundamental reform of the Vietnamese educational structure, which makes certain that the sons of the prosperous, and almost no one else, will achieve the secondary education necessary to social advancement—whether in the army, the civil service or the professions.

Sending a peasant boy to primary school and then making it virtually impossible for him to achieve a decent secondary - school education fosters discontent, rather than lessening it. There is considerable evidence that many young Vietnamese of peasant origin join the Vietcong because the Communists, who have been forced by the nature of their revolution to develop leadership from the countryside, offer them their best hope of avoiding a life on the rung of the ladder where they began—at the bottom.

WHILE Vietnamese with influence prosper in the cities and towns, the war has created a different world in the countryside. It is a world in which the masses of the peasantry no longer live—they endure.

No comprehensive statistics on civilian casualties are available.

An indication of what civilian casualties may be, however, is given by the fact that American and other foreign medical teams working in three - quarters of the country's 43 provinces treat 2,000 civilian war-wounded each month. If one accepts the normal military ratio of one dead for two wounded, the monthly figure is 1,000 civilian dead.

The number of wounded handled by the medical teams, I believe from my own observation, is merely a fraction of the total.

Although civilians are being killed and wounded by both sides, my own investigations have indicated that the majority of civilian casualties result from American and South Vietnamese airstrikes and artillery and naval gunfire. Last November, I found one fishing village in Quangngai province, on the central coast north of Saigon, in which at least 180 persons—and possibly 600—had been killed during the previous two months by aircraft and Seventh Fleet destroyers. The five hamlets that composed the village, once a prosperous community of 15,000 people, had been reduced to rubble.

The gun and the knife of the Vietcong assassin are, in contrast, far more selective than cannon and fragmentation bombs; the victims are usually limited to Government officials and sympathizers.

LACK of sufficient American troops to occupy and hold ground when it has been wrested from the Communists is one of the major reasons for the extent of damage to civilian life and property. Once a battle has ended, the American and South Vietnamese troops withdraw. The theoretical follow-up by South Vietnamese territorial forces, police and administrators to pacify the region does not materialize except in a very limited number of instances, and the Vietcong guerrillas and their North Vietnamese allies move in again. The Americans eventually return and the same region is thus fought over repeatedly.

It would be easy to blame the American military authorities for the destruction, but this would not be fair. The Vietcong and the North Vietnamese regulars habitually fortify hamlets with elaborate trenchwork and bunker systems. Infantry attacking in classic style across open paddy fields would suffer prohibitive casualties. Under these circumstances, military commanders can only be expected to use whatever force is at their disposal.

THE flow of refugees from the countryside is the most eloquent evidence available of the gradual destruction of rural society under the impact of the war. The number of refugees has now passed the million mark. It takes a great deal to make a Vietnamese peasant forsake his land and the graves of his ancestors.

Most refugees I have questioned told me that the Vietcong taxed them and made them work harder than usual, but that they could live with the Communists. They left their homes, they said, because they could no longer bear American and South Vietnamese bombs and shells.

A YEAR ago, I worried that the patience of the American people would run out, that Ho Chi Minh would have his way and that the United States would lose the Vietnam war. This fear no longer troubles me nearly as much. I have the feeling that somehow we can muddle through this grim business. We may not win in Vietnam as we won in World War II, yet we may well prevail.

Rather, my quiet worry concerns what we are doing to ourselves in the course of prosecuting and possibly some day winning this war. In World War II and in Korea the aggression of one state against another was an established fact. The United States acted with clear moral justification and Americans fought as they always like to think they fight—for human freedom and dignity. In Vietnam this moral superiority has given way to the amorality of great power politics, specifically, to the problem of maintaining the United States as the paramount power in Southeast Asia. The Vietnamese people have become mere pawns in the struggle. Whatever desires they might possess have become incidental. The United States can no longer make any pretense of fighting to safeguard South Vietnam's independence. The presence of 317,000 American troops in the country has made a mockery of its sovereignty and the military junta in Saigon would not last a week without American bayonets to protect it.

Precisely because the Saigon Government represents nothing beyond its administration and army, the United States has had to fall back on its own military force to maintain its position and to win the war. Washington can dispense the latest in weaponry, but the First Air Cavalry Division and the Third Marine Amphibious Force cannot inspire the loyalty of the Vietnamese peasantry, and General Motors cannot manufacture decent non-Communist Vietnamese leadership, effective government and dedication. Only Vietnamese can supply these and the non-Communist Vietnamese have proven themselves incapable of providing them.

Thus, in the final analysis, American strategy in Vietnam consists of creating a killing machine in the form of a highly equipped expeditionary corps and then turning this machine on the enemy in the hope that over the years enough killing will be done to force the enemy's collapse through exhaustion and despair. This strategy, although possibly the only feasible alternative open to a modern industrial power in such a situation, is of necessity brutal and heedless of many of its victims.

Despite these misgivings, I do not see how we can do anything but continue to prosecute the war. We can and should limit the violence and the suffering being inflicted on the civilians as much as possible, but, for whatever reasons, successive Administrations in Washington have carried the commitment in Vietnam to the point where it would be very difficult to prevent any precipitate retreat from degenerating into a rout. If the United States were to disengage from Vietnam under adverse conditions, I believe that the resulting political and psychological shockwaves might undermine our entire position in Southeast Asia. We shall, I am afraid, have to put up with our Vietnamese mandarin allies. We shall not be able to reform them and it is unlikely that we shall be able to find any other Vietnamese willing to cooperate with us. We shall have to continue to rely mainly on our military power, accept the odium attached to its use and hope that someday this power will bring us to a favorable settlement.

But I simply cannot help worrying that, in the process of waging this war, we are corrupting ourselves. I wonder, when I look at the bombed-out peasant hamlets, the orphans begging and stealing on the streets of Saigon and the women and children with napalm burns lying on the hospital cots, whether the United States or any nation has the right to inflict this suffering and degradation on another people for its own ends. And I hope we will not, in the name of some anti-Communist crusade, do this again.

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A D R A F T U N I O N I S B E I N G F O R M E D

Those who receive the 1-O Conscientious Objector classification are among the fortunate few. Most of the men now opposing the war and resisting the draft have to face the eventuality of draft refusal (with a possible prison sentence as a result).

Up to now, the Government has had all the best of it, picking us off at its liesure, one by one!

But we CAN prevent ourselves from being isolated, neutralized. Although the moment of moral choice is a solitary one, the moment of resistance need not be.

We can act together at every opportunity.

WHAT IS A DRAFT UNION?
WHAT WILL IT DO?

The function of a draft union is to unite COs, draft resisters, opponents of the Selective Service System into a group capable of acting when one of its members is threatened. Demonstrations inside and outside the Induction Center should be taking place every time someone refuses induction. Hundreds of us should be with the resister as an act of solidarity and defiance. This is the most immediate (and in some ways most important) purpose of the Draft Union.

The Draft Union may also be able to create situations where organized acts of draft resistance could force the Government to deal with many of us at once, rather than always allowing the Government to have the initiative.

The Draft Union may also be the focal point for an inquiry into the Selective Service System itself, the local draft boards - their composition and the most effective way to deal with them.

IMPORTANT: Contact other COs and draft resisters, tell them about the draft union, get them to join. We can't sit passively, uttering our solitary "Nos," waiting for the Government to come and get us.

ORGANIZE!

I am ___ a CO claimant ___ a nonco-operator facing the possibility that I will have to refuse induction. I join the Draft Union as an act of solidarity and support with my fellow draft resisters.

I __ have already received my CO classification ___have already refused induction ___am ineligible for the draft but I wish to join the Draft Union as an act of solidarity and support with those who are resisting the draft.

Return to: War Resisters League - Los Angeles
1046 N. Sweetzer
L.A. 90069
Or call OL 4 4491

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FD-340 (REV. 6-24-68)

File No. 100-70116-1A6

Date Received 10/16/67

From SALLY JEAN SILVESTRI
(NAME OF CONTRIBUTOR)

Rm. 3255, New Federal Building
(ADDRESS OF CONTRIBUTOR)

Los Angeles, California
(CITY AND STATE)

By George J. Mourehead and Gilbert G. Benjamin
(NAME OF SPECIAL AGENT)

To Be Returned ☐ Yes ☒ No

Receipt given ☐ Yes ☒ No

Description:

3 pages of names as signers of "A CALL TO RESIST."

See Sec. 36

Inserted in report 2/26/68 mmm

11.30.67 JC

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